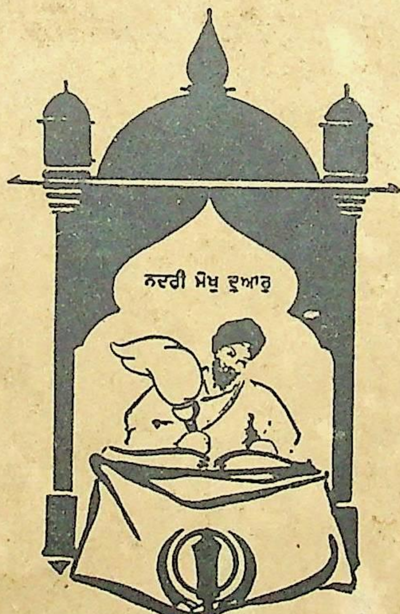
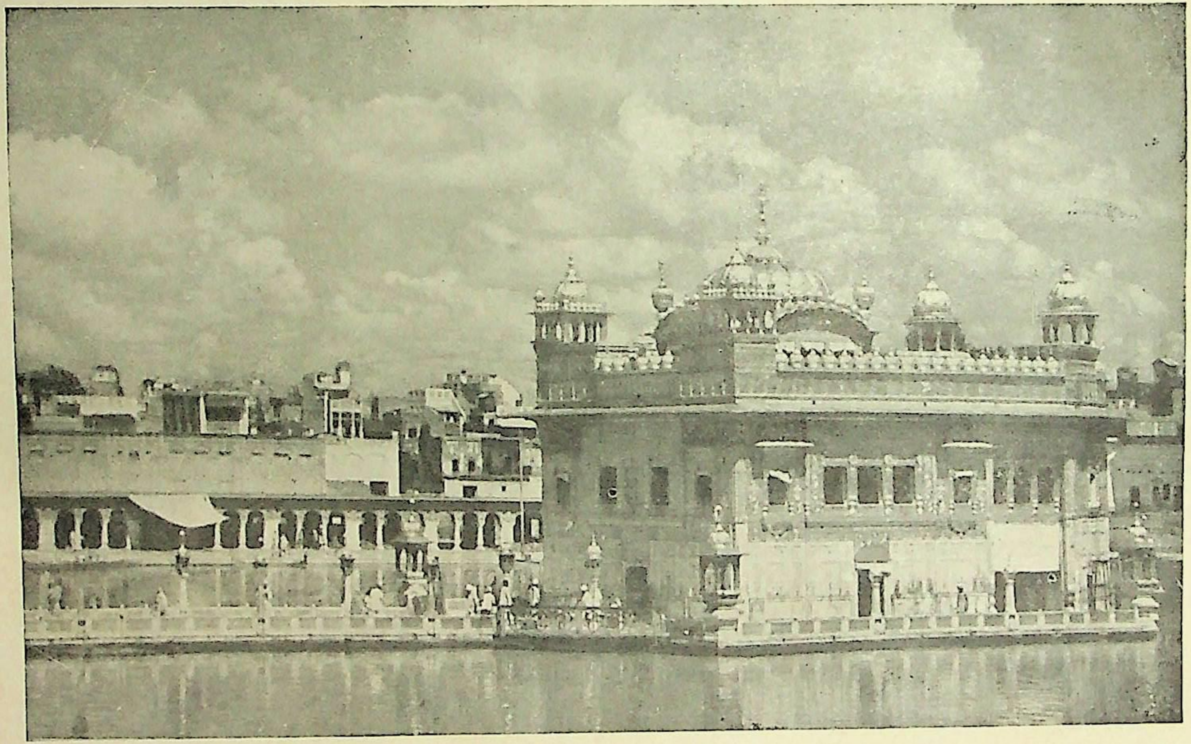
The Sikhs and their Scriptures



C. H. Loehlin, Ph.D.



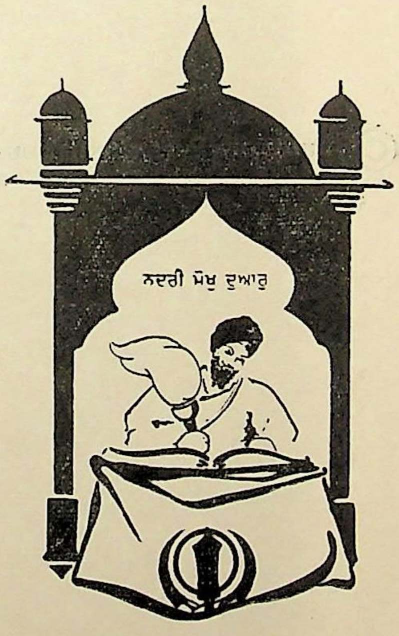
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The Sikhs and Their Scriptures

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

C. H. Loehlin



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To

DR. GANDA SINGH

SCHOLAR, COUNSELLOR AND FRIEND

Acknowledgement

Acknowledgement is gratefully made to George Allen & Unwin Ltd. for permission to quote from *The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh* by Heiler.

The line drawings are by Pradeep Kamboj, Ferozepore.

Foreword
to the 1958 Edition

It has been a great pleasure for us to go through the typescript of Rev. Dr. C. H. Loehlin's *The Sikhs and Their Scriptures.* It is an objective study and an admirable introduction to the subject for those who have neither the leisure nor the patience to go into the details of the history and religion of the Sikhs. The author has dealt with his thesis with just appraisal and sympathetic understanding. In his attempt to understand the various characteristics of the Sikhs, he has traced the ethnical as well as the historical and religious background of these people. He has eminently succeeded in avoiding technicalities which ordinarily frighten away lay readers. We congratulate the learned author for producing this small but compact book on the Sikhs, among whom he has been living and working for some three decades.

GANDA SINGH

Formerly Research Scholar in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar, and Director of Archives, Patiala.

PRITAM SINGH

Professor of Punjabi, Mahendra College, Patiala.

PATIALA
July 14, 1957.

Foreword

to the 2nd Edition

I have read with great interest and pleasure Rev. Dr. Loehlin's brief monograph on Sikhism—*The Sikhs and Their Scriptures.* The learned author has very lucidly and briefly dwelt on different aspects of the Sikh faith. This handy book gives a bird's-eye view of the origin and history of the Sikhs. It deals with the fundamental concepts and tenets of the Sikh religion and culture. In this objective study the author gives an admirable introduction of the Sikhs with sympathetic understanding and friendly outlook. The author makes a comparative study of Sikhism with other important faiths and outlines their common as well as their differentiating features. He also treats of the cultural, political, historical and geographical conditions to present the religious development of the Sikhs in a correct perspective.

People of every religion must get to know more about the beliefs, traditions and habits of other religions. This book is a praiseworthy effort in this respect, by a Christian missionary who has lived among the Sikhs for over 35 years.

I welcome this second and enlarged edition of this book and commend it whole-heartedly.

PARKASH SINGH, M.A.
Information Office (Golden Temple)
Clock Tower, Amritsar.

Dec. 30, 1963.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Sikh Gurus

The Geographical Setting

The Punjab is a land of extremes. The country is either as flat as a board, or suddenly turns into steep hills and rugged snow-capped mountains. The rivers and streams are either trickles lost in wide sandy wastes, or they are raging floods that spread destruction far beyond the banks that looked secure before. The six inches of pulverized dust changes to slimy mud when a sudden torrential rain descends and halts all wheeled traffic except that of the sturdy ox-cart. In March the country is a mass of green wheat fields stretching as far as the eye can see, with here and there yellow fields of mustard dotting the landscape. Within a month the green fields, harvested, have changed to sere brown earth and the country looks like a barren waste. It will stay that way for three or four months; then a heavy downpour will call forth as by a magic touch green grass and many-coloured blossoms.

The climate, too, is one of extremes. Much of the year it is burning hot, 115 degrees in the shade, with clouds of dust swirling about because of the excessive dryness. In July the monsoon rains descend with gales of violence, and even breathing becomes difficult because of the oppressive humidity. Thunder crashes, lightning flashes, and there may be an occasional earthquake. Then in the winter it is bitingly cold, with temperatures dropping below freezing and hoar frost forming at night. The cold winds coming off the mountains to the north penetrate the heaviest clothing. Add to this the lack of any kind of heating except that from small fire-places for the wealthy, or from domestic animals in the huts of the poor, and you have a climate that only the hardy and adaptable can survive.

Small wonder that the Punjabi people, living outdoors close to the soil most of the time, are sensitive to nature in her rapidly changing moods. The distant forbears of the Sikhs show this appreciation of nature in the vedic hymns; so do the Sikh gurus in those delightful poems entitled "The Twelve Months," which depict the soul's experience in seeking fellowship with the Beloved under varying conditions from the frost of Poh to the burning heat of Asarh. (See these poems under "Translations.")

The Cultural and Political Situation

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a world-wide awakening. Columbus made his voyage of discovery about the time that Guru Nanak was making his preaching tours over India and the Near East. Vasco da Gama discovered the southern route to India and Magellan sailed around the globe. In the field of art, the great Italians Michaelangelo, Raphael, and da Vinci were creating their masterpieces, and literature was flourishing under Lorenzo di Medici. The Renaissance of European culture reached its peak.

This was a time of religious ferment also. In Europe, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were preaching reform, and Luther was translating the Bible into the vernacular, even while Nanak was denouncing "priestcraft, hypocrisy, and idolatry" and using the Punjabi vernacular instead of Sanskrit for his religious poems. In India, too, Akbar was trying to form his eclectic *Din-i-Ilahi,* or Divine Religion. The Sikh gurus were ably proclaiming a faith of grace and devotion, open to all men and women. This faith was born in the fire of tyranny and persecution, for the Punjab was being devastated by a series of invasions and struggles for power under Babar, 1483-1530, Humayun, 1530-56, Akbar, 1556-1605, Jahangir, 1606-28, Shah Jahan, 1628-58, Aurangzeb, 1658-1707, and Bahadur Shah, 1707-12. Guru Nanak witnessed the sack of Saidpur in the Punjab under Babar, and was moved to remark,

> This age is a knife, kings are butchers; justice hath taken wings and fled.

In this completely dark night of falsehood the moon of truth is never seen to rise.

(*Majh ki Var*, Macauliffe)

Here is another description of those turbulent seventeenth century times:

Sir Thomas Roe, the British ambassador at Jahangir's court, gives the following further information regarding Jahangir's method of dispensing justice:

> A band of one hundred robbers was brought in chains before the Great Mogul. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution . . . . Close by my house the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs; and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the streets. The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed: culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs, destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of their crimes; the executions being generally in the market place.[1]

The Sikh faith did not escape the consequences of being in this tyrannical environment. Of the ten gurus, Arjan, the fifth, and Teg Bahadur, the ninth, were martyred for their faith; very probably the tenth guru was assassinated by Muslim enemies; but once again in the long history of religions it was to be shown that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church.

The Gurus and their Work

The development of Sikhism centres around the ten Sikh gurus, or religious teachers, who arose in the Punjab in the tumultuous sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were receptive to truth wherever they found it, and their spiritual insight and religious fervour combined with their dynamic activity and organizing ability to give rise to a distinct religion and a religious community that exists in India to this day. A

brief introduction to these Sikh gurus, therefore, is necessary for an understanding of the Sikhs and their Scriptures.

Guru Nanak—1469-1539

Nanak, 1469-1539, has the distinction of being the founder of the Sikh religion. He made extended preaching tours as far as Assam in the east, Ceylon in the south, Nepal and Tibet in the north, and Mecca and Baghdad to the west.* His message was one of peace and reconciliation: "There is no Hindu, and no Mussalman." This was the heart of his mission, which aimed at the reconciliation of these two warring communities to form a new brotherhood.[2]

His teaching and preaching methods were unconventional and dramatic. It is said that on a trip to Brindaban he wore the saffron jacket of a sadhu, the woollen shirt of a faqir, and the hat of a Qalandar dervish. At Hardwar, while bathing in the sacred Ganges with Hindus, he began to throw handfuls of Ganges water toward the West, even as the pious Hindus were doing toward the East. When they questioned him about this unorthodox practice, he replied that if they could refresh their ancestors' spirits to the East with sacred water, surely he could water his parched farm which was so much nearer to the West!

Nanak was married, although he was too much of a wanderer to have a settled home life. Of his two sons, Sri Chand turned out to be a mystic celibate; and Lakhmi Das repeatedly failed to show filial obedience or even sympathy with his father's ideals and work. As a result, when he took the momentous step of formally appointing a successor to the guruship he passed over these sons and appointed the devoted married disciple Angad as Guru. This act set a precedent of continuity and organization to a reform movement that might otherwise have lapsed back into Hinduism. It also exalted the householder above the ascetic. The gurus over a period of two hundred years progressively gave instruction and training to a whole people, each building on the work of his predecessors.[3]

*There is an inscription in Baghdad commemorating the visit of "the Divine Master Baba Nanak Faqir Aulia" in 1521.

Guru Angad—1539-1552

Angad, born in 1504, was the son of a petty trader of Ferozepur district. He was guru for thirteen years, and is usually credited with popularizing the Gurmukhi alphabet. This was a long step toward complete separation from the Hindu religion with its scriptures in Devanagari. It also served to develop the use of the Punjabi vernacular for religious writings, which was another blow to the prestige of the Brahmans.

Guru Amar Das—1552-1574

Amar Das, born at Basarka near Amritsar in 1479, was appointed to the guruship at the ripe old age of seventy-three, and served as guru for twenty-two years. He organized the Sikhs into twenty-two parishes under lay preachers. He built the famous Baoli, or deep well, at Goindwal on the Beas River as a centre of pilgrimage for Sikhs. Guru Nanak had instituted the *langar,* or free kitchen in gurdwaras as a leveller of men. Guru Amar Das installed a *langar* at Goindwal, and every visitor, even the Emperor Akbar, it is said, had to eat at this common refectory before the guru would see him. He substituted death and marriage ceremonies with a new Punjabi ritual for the Hindu ones, and Sikh religious festivals in place of Hindu festivals in the spring and fall. The sect was becoming a church.

Guru Ram Das—1574-1581

The fourth guru, Ram Das, was born in a Sodhi family in Lahore in 1534. He became the son-in-law of Guru Amar Das, and from now on the guruship became hereditary. His main contribution was the procuring of a piece of land from Emperor Akbar and founding the Holy City of Ramdaspur, later known as Amritsar. This is still the religious capital of the Sikhs, and serves as a Mother Church to Sikhs scattered all over the world,

Guru Arjan—1581-1606

The fifth guru, Arjan, was born at Goindwal in 1563. He was the youngest son of Guru Ram Das. The eldest son, Prithia, had been deemed unfit for the guruship as being a schemer. This led to his life-long enmity against Arjan. The second son, Mahadeo, was a recluse; and active leadership was required. Guru Arjan was a great builder. He completed the Golden Temple* at Amritsar, as well as building the gurdwara at Tarn Taran, 15 miles south of Amritsar, in 1590, which is second only to the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, in sanctity. He founded the town of Kartarpur in Jullundur district in 1594, and Sri Gobindpur on the Beas River to celebrate the birth of Hargobind.

His monumental work was the compilation of the Ad Granth, the Sikh Scripture, in 1604. This he did from the poetical writings of the four gurus preceding him; it is noteworthy that he also included poems of a score of Hindu bhagats and Muslim Sufis. Some of the bhagats were low castes, like Ravi Das the shoemaker, Sadhna the butcher, and Sain the barber.

The Muslim emperor, Jahangir, seems to have grown jealous of the rising Sikh power and, on the pretext that the guru had aided his rebellious son Khusru, he had the guru arrested and tortured to death in Lahore in 1606.

Guru Hargobind—1606-1645

Before his death, Guru Arjan, seeing the war-clouds gathering, advised his son Hargobind to sit fully armed on his throne, and he asked Bhai Buddha to make a soldier-saint out of him.[1] Hargobind was guru from 1606 to 1645, assuming the guruship at the age of eleven. After some skirmishes between his small army and Imperial troops Guru Hargobind retired to Kiratpur, a town which he had founded for a place of refuge in the Sewalik foothills above Rupar. He also built the Akal Takht

* The Sikhs call it the Darbar Sahib. It is called the Golden Temple because the upper part is covered with gold leaf paint.

which is still among the very fine buildings in the Golden Temple precincts in Amritsar, and the tower known as Baba Atai in memory of his son who died as a boy. He developed the town founded in his honour which is now known as Sri Hargobindpur. The first five gurus were religious and social reformers; the last five had to take steps to carry on this work against increasingly hostile military forces.

Guru Har Rai—1645-1661

Har Rai, born at Kiratpur in 1630, was the younger son of Baba Gurditta who had died in 1638. Perhaps Guru Hargobind considered his two surviving sons as yet unfit for the guruship (one later became Guru Teg Bahadur); it seems unlikely that he wished to observe the custom of primogeniture as Macauliffe states (IV, p. 275), for he appointed Har Rai as guru in preference to Dhir Mal the older brother. Fitness rather than primogeniture was time and again the deciding factor. Aside from the development of a fighting force of 2,200 horsemen, and furthering the organization of preaching missions, his guruship was not especially significant.

The Apostacy of Ram Rai

Ram Rai, the son of Guru Har Rai, had once to go to the Emperor Aurangzeb in response to a summons for his father. On being questioned about a passage in Var Asa in the Granth which the emperor thought derogatory to the Muslims, Ram Rai adroitly changed the reading from "Mussalman" to "beiman" (faithless).* The guru was very displeased with this tampering with the Granth and excommunicated him. His followers, known as Ram-Raiye, were later on classed as heretics by Guru Gobind Singh. Emperor Aurangzeb, however, gave to Ram Rai a jagir of land on which he built a gurdwara, and Dehra Dun grew up around it. Dehra is still the headquarters of their sect.

* *The verse is:* The clay of a Mussalman may find its way into the hand of a potter who makes vessels and bricks out of it;
It cries out as it burns.
(Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 49).

Guru Har Krishan—1661-1664

Har Krishan was only five years old when he became guru, an office which he held for only three years, 1661-64. On a visit to Delhi at the summons of Emperor Shah Jahan he contracted small-pox and died there. His last words were "Baba Bakale," indicating the place where his successor to the guruship would be found.

Guru Teg Bahadur—1664-1675

Teg Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Hargobind, was born at Guru ka Mahal in Amritsar in 1621. After his father's death, he, his mother Nanaki, and his wife Gujari went to live in Bakala, a town in the north-east corner of Amritsar District not far from Beas. In order to avoid controversy with the twenty-two or so Sodhis of Bakala who were claiming the guruship, Teg Bahadur remained in seclusion at Bakala. Eventually he was recognized as the "Baba" of Bakala mentioned by Guru Har Krishan, and he was proclaimed guru when he was forty-four years old. He founded the city of Anandpur in the foothills of the Himalayas a few miles from Kiratpur, also, like the latter, as a place of refuge. He was a zealous preacher, and went on a two-year mission to Bengal and Assam, where he found many gurdwaras existing, and founded many more. The fanatical Emperor Aurangzeb had him arrested on his return to the Punjab, since the guru had taken up the cause of the persecuted Kashmiri Hindus, and publicly beheaded him in Delhi in 1675.

Guru Gobind Singh—1675-1708

Teg Bahadur's only son, Gobind, was born on December 26, 1666, at Patna in northern Bihar. After a few years his mother Gujari took the young Gobind to Anandpur in the Punjab, where they were when Guru Teg Bahadur was martyred. The violent death of his father made a profound impression on the young Gobind. He made it his life mission to right his own and his people's wrongs. At the age of nine

he was publicly proclaimed guru in accordance with the wishes of his father. He was given instruction in Hindi, Punjabi, Persian, and Sanskrit, as well as in riding, swimming, archery, and the use of the sword and other weapons. For further security he strengthened the fortifications of Anandpur and built the fort of Paonta on the banks of the Jamna on the west side of the Dehra valley.

Guru Gobind Singh well knew the importance of the pen as well as the sword in the coming struggle for freedom. His court at Anandpur became a literary centre. He employed fifty-two poets to translate into Hindi the stories of Indian heroes and heroines from the various Puranas and from the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics. His purpose was to infuse in his followers a new spirit of resistance to all injustice and tyranny.[5] Much of this literature was lost in the river in the retreat from Anandpur some years later; but some of it is preserved in the Dasam Granth.

In the meantime, the Muslim rulers felt that they had to do something about this new state with its private army, and so the Imperial troops began closing in on Anandpur. The guru decided it was time to organize his followers into the Khalsa, or "Guru's Own;" so at the time of the spring fair at Anandpur in 1699 he suddenly appeared before the assembled Sikhs brandishing his sword and demanding a head. After startled looks and growing apprehension, one Daya Ram, a Khatri of Lahore, offered his head. The guru took him into a tent, the sound of a blow was heard and blood gushed out of the tent. The guru appeared with his sword dripping blood and asked for another head. The assembly began to melt away; but finally Dharm Das, a Delhi Jat, offered his all. Muhkam Chand, a Dwarka dhobi; Himmat, a Brahman cook; and Sahib Chand, a barber, followed. In each case, blood flowed from the tent, but after the five had thus volunteered, the guru opened up the tent to show five headless goats, while the five Beloved Ones sat in splendid robes. Thus a Khatri, a Brahman, and three Sudras formed the nucleus of the Khalsa. The guru baptized them, then was baptized in turn by them. Such was the dramatic beginning of the Khalsa Brotherhood.

The guru knew he had five men who could be depended on!. After baptism, they all took the surname "Singh," or lion. They were always to wear the five k's : *Kes,* or long uncut hair; *kangha,* or comb, usually of wood; *kirpan,* dagger or sword; *kara,* or steel bracelet; and *kachh,* or shorts. Thus they would be quite distinct from both Hindus and Muslims, and their group consciousness would be intensified. It would be impossible, too, for them to hide their religious identity while wearing these signs. Discipline was tightening up. Their baptism (*pahul*), too, had been performed with a dagger, in place of the old Hindu custom of drinking the water in which the Brahman priest had dipped his foot—foot-baptism (*charan-pahul*). The sacred thread had been discarded, the old castes erased, and now all Singhs were equal and were to intermarry freely with all other Sikhs. They were to have no relations with smokers, infanticides, or the ostracized followers of Prithi Chand, Dhir Mal, Ram Rai, or the *masands.* They should eat only *jhatka* meat, from an animal decapitated with one stroke. There was to be no idolatry, and the gurus' hymns should be read or sung at the stated times daily. On another occasion the guru spoke in favour of the family man as superior to the recluse, against reliance on astrology, and in advocacy on the custom of having congregational devotions with men and women worshipping together.

A story is told of the guru's teaching methods that reminds one of a scene from the New Testament. He was talking with the Emperor Bahadur Shah about religion. The emperor maintained that whoever repeated the Islamic Creed would find salvation, whatever his character might be. The guru held that something more was necessary, namely, genuine faith. To prove his point he sent a servant off to the bazaar with a bad rupee on which the Creed was stamped. The money-lenders of course refused to honour it. The Creed, the guru reminded the emperor, even in the royal market-place was of no value on a counterfeit rupee!

After defeat at the hands of overwhelming Muslim military power, the guru fled to the south Punjab. There, at Damdama Sahib, he put the Ad Granth in its final form, with one short

sloka of his own and several hymns of Guru Teg Bahadur added. Eventually he found his way to the Hyderabad State in South India. There at Nander he was fatally stabbed by two Pathans. These were possibly hired assassins of Wazir Khan of Sarhind who had put to death the guru's two small sons. Just before his death, the guru proclaimed the Granth Sahib (the Ad Granth) as the only guru of the Sikhs and Singhs henceforth. He was forty-one years nine months old at his death on October 7, 1708.

To summarize, about the year 1500 Nanak founded the Sikh faith by preaching a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, touring possibly from Ceylon on the south to Tibet on the north, as far east as Assam, and as far west as Mecca. He took the important step just before his death of appointing a successor to the guruship; and further, he passed over his ascetic and celibate elder son in favour of a devoted disciple, unrelated to him, who had a wife and children. Sikhism thus broke with the ascetic tradition at the start, and the Sikhs have been a body of householders ever since. The second Guru Angad popularized the Gurmukhi script, which has remained the sacred script of Sikhism ever since. The third Guru Amar Das thoroughly organized the Sikh Church, and Guru Ram Das founded the religious capital of Sikhism at Amritsar. At the beginning of his guruship Arjan completed the Golden Temple at Amritsar, after amassing considerable wealth under a regular system of tax collection carried out by a special mission of tax-gatherers called *masands*. He also founded the towns of Tarn Taran in Amritsar district and Kartarpur in Jullundur district, both of which are today of importance. His crowning work was the compilation of the Ad Granth, which gave the new faith an authentic book of sacred teaching. The last five of the gurus had to face an increasingly aggressive and hostile Islamic State, and gradually built up an army of defence. Guru Arjan and Teg Bahadur fell victims to Muslim fanaticism, and it was the work of the tenth and last guru, Gobind Singh, to complete the development of Sikhism by founding the Khalsa Brotherhood which has survived severe persecution by the Muslims and infiltration by the Hindus and is the main cohesive force of Sikhism today.

All nations he has created from a common origin, to dwell all over the earth, fixing their allotted periods and the boundaries of their abodes, meaning them to seek for God on the chance of finding him in their groping for him. Though indeed he is close to each one of us, for it is in him that we live and move and exist.

Acts 17 : 26-28, Moffatt's translation

CHAPTER TWO

Racial Roots of the Sikhs

The roots of the Sikhs go far back into pre-history, to the Aryan people who, around 1500 B.C., invaded Northwest India. These Aryans were evidently a people proud and colour-conscious, and they were faced with the problem of maintaining their racial integrity as they pushed on farther into the midst of the darker-skinned Dravidians and aborigines. The Aryans, with their fair skins and thin noses, gradually evolved the system of endogamous *varnas*, or colour-classes, in order to preserve the purity of their race. Then, as they settled down and society became more complex, further organization took place along occupational lines, and hereditary ties were tightened until the four great *varnas* crystallized into the Brahman or priestly, Kshatriya or warrior, Vaisya or merchant, and Sudra or labouring castes. The history of the development of caste is marked by the struggle for supremacy between the two upper castes, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. After a long struggle, the astute Brahmans exploited the religious needs and superstitions of their rivals and established themselves at the top of the social pyramid. Their supremacy, however, was challenged again and again by Kshatriyas, such as Prince Gautama the Buddha, Mahavira the Jain, and the Sikh gurus, all of whom founded religions of protest against caste.

In the course of history, the old Kshatriya caste largely disappeared, possibly because of the heavy toll taken of them as warriors in resisting the ever-recurring invasions of India. This may be the explanation, or the Kshatriyas may have been largely exterminated by a revolt against them led by a priestly class of mixed origin. However this may have happened, the Kshatriyas reappeared as Khatris, Rajputs, and Jats. The old warrior strain was still there as the history of these groups shew; so was that remarkably flexible nature that enabled them to adapt themselves to changed conditions and so to survive.

The ten gurus who were the founders of the Sikh religion came from the Khatri caste. *The Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature* states that the Khatris were Kshatriyas, although they are now chiefly a trading caste. Blunt remarks that "the Khatris have long claimed to be Kshatriyas who have taken to trade" and that the Census of 1901 classed them with Rajput clans. The Saraswat Brahmans, their hereditary priests, will eat either *kachcha* or *pakka* food prepared by them, which implies a very high and pure ancestry.[6]

These Khatris have been described as one of the most acute, energetic, and altogether remarkable groups in India. This is well borne out by the Sikh gurus who were spiritual leaders capable of organizational and administrative activities of a high order. Risley says of them:

> By founding the Sikh religion and by continuing to furnish its priests they have exercised within a sphere of some importance an influence elsewhere confined to the Brahmans . . . and by their activity in trade and prominence in the ranks of the legal profession they have more than absorbed the functions of the ancient Vaisyas.[7]

Trade terms and allusions to trade are frequent in the Ad Granth, such as this from one of Guru Arjan's hymns:

> Having glanced at foreign countries, I have come here for traffic.
> I have heard, O Guru, thou hast an incomparable and profitable thing,
> To purchase which I have tied virtues in my dress and brought them as my capital.
> Having beheld the jewel, my heart hankereth after it.
> O Merchant, a dealer hath come to thy door.
> Exhibit your goods, so that we may effect a bargain.[8]

Here, then, was a group well-qualified for leadership, who could turn trader, warrior, or religious poet as the need might be. At hand, too, was another remarkable group of people, the Jats, who were well suited to be the devoted followers of these Khatri gurus.

Over half of the Sikhs come from the Jats, who form an agricultural caste. It is usually believed that both the Rajputs

and the Jats come from the same Kshatriya stock, but the Jats, because they handled the plough and practised widow re-marriage, fell lower in the social scale than the Rajputs. *The Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature* calls the Jats "a *Jati* or Caste, a branch of the Rajputs. The Jats came from Mid Asia to Northwest India to settle; many are farmers, some are soldiers. They are tall, strong, honest, devout and generous."

Risley examined them from the viewpoint of physical anthropology and puts his findings thus:

> There exists in the Punjab and Rajputana at the present day a definite physical type represented by the Jats and Rajputs, which is marked by a relatively long (dolichocephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine) nose; a long symmetrically narrow face; a well-developed forehead, regular features and a high facial angle. The stature is high, and the general build of the figure is well-proportioned, being relatively massive in the Jats and relatively slender in the Rajputs. Throughout the group the predominant colour of the skin is a very light transparent brown, with a tendency toward darker shades in the lower social strata.[9]

Indeed, as one sees these people in the Punjab today, it is easy to imagine their Aryan forebears, large, vigorous, industrious by spells, with a similar fondness for strong drink, gambling, and a good fight!

Blunt characterizes the Jat as a typical yeoman, devoted to agriculture but not particularly orthodox as a Hindu "so that he takes a lower social level than a Rajput." He and every member of his family work his fields with unceasing industry.[10]

Another authority says:

> The Jats are known in the north and west of India as industrious and successful tillers of the soil, and as hardy yeomen, equally ready to take up arms and to follow the plough. They form, perhaps, the finest rural population in India.[11]

Such, then, are the hardy Jats and their enterprising Khatri leaders. With all their absorption in farming and trade, they

are a devout people, as the shrines in their homes, their enthusiastic attendance at their religious festivals and their loyalty to their gurus testify. Characteristically, they survived one of the most turbulent periods of India's history by organizing themselves into a militant religious Brotherhood, the Khalsa.

CHAPTER THREE

Sikhs and Singhs

Some of their Characteristics

The term "Sikh" is used in a general way to designate all the followers of the ten gurus; but, strictly speaking, there is a difference between a "Sikh" and a "Singh." A Singh has received *amrit* (*pahul*, or baptism) and always wears the five signs of the Khalsa Brotherhood. The feminine counterpart of "Singh" is "Kaur" (princess). Sundar Singh would be a man; Sundar Kaur, a woman. If she had received *amrit*, as her name would indicate she had, she also could wear the five signs. Sikh means learner, and Singh means lion; and these two terms aptly describe the difference between them. These terms are a tribute to the success of the tenth guru's methods in developing a martial spirit in farmers, traders, and even sweepers, so that each felt himself to be equal in the Sikh parlance, to one lakh and a quarter (125,000). In Punjabi the Sikhs are also known as the "sahijdhāri" or "slow-adopters" and the Singhs also as the "Keshadhāri" or "hair-wearers." Some of the main characteristics of the Sikhs (used in the general sense) will be considered, in the hope that they will help explain how this change was so readily and completely effected.

First, then, the Sikhs are good organizers. This, in fact, is the very reason for their continuing existence as a separate religious and social group. Each guru appointed a successor, and each developed social and religious organization a step further in the evolution of the Khalsa Brotherhood. Narang says, "They are the best organized community in India." Without this ability the Sikhs would probably have been absorbed into Hinduism again, as a reformed sect possibly—if they had been able to survive Muslim persecution. This ability of theirs gives rise to the paradoxical result that it was their organization "that turned the Mogul Government against

them, and it was this organization that saved them in times of persecution." [12] This organizing ability has had a large share in developing Sikhism from a Hindu sect into one of the world's living religions.

Secondly, the Sikhs have favoured the family over asceticism. The gurus were family men; indeed, we have seen how Guru Nanak favoured a man with a family for his successor. This emphasis on the family has resulted in social progress in the freedom Sikh women enjoy; in the development of education for girls as well as for boys; in the founding of hospitals and orphanages; in a high standard of living; and in a general spirit of industry and responsibility. Nanak rated the householder, the worker, above the renouncer.[13] This family feeling highlights the tragedy of Guru Gobind Singh, in exile, with his family scattered, and his four sons all killed, a lonely man indeed.

Thirdly, the Sikhs are intensely loyal to their gurus. Two cities of the Punjab exemplify this. One is Sarhind, where the guru's two small sons were murdered. Banda a Bairagi Sadhu from Jammu who was converted to Sikhism in South India had been given a special commission by Guru Gobind Singh to behead Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sarhind, who had been responsible for the murder. It so happened that Wazir Khan was beheaded in the battle at Sarhind, and the town itself was thoroughly sacked and many of its inhabitants slaughtered by Banda's followers, although its final ruin was completed by Sikh Sardars under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1763. Even today pious Sikhs may be seen pulling out bricks from its ruins.[14]

The other city is Malerkotla, a Muslim city some twenty miles south of Ludhiana in the central Punjab. It will be recalled that the Nawab of Malerkotla had interceded for the small sons of the guru at Sarhind. The guru prophesied that "after the roots of the oppressive Turks were all dug up, the roots of the Nawab should still remain." A Sikh historian says that due to a sense of gratitude and loyalty to their guru the Sikhs have never molested Malerkotla even when the whole surrounding country was devastated. Sarhind, on the other

hand, was more than once sacked by them and its fine buildings converted into ruins.[15]

If this was true of Banda's expedition when the guru's words were fresh in the memory, it is still more amazing that the city of Malerkotla with its Muslim population was not molested in the terrible communal riots attending the Partition of India in 1947. Even though the city lies in the heart of the Sikh Malwa country near the strong Sikh states of Nabha and Patiala, the Sikhs remembered their guru's words and left the city and its Muslim inhabitants unmolested.

In answer to a query about present-day conditions in Malerkotla, Rev. W. D. Barr writes (dated Sept. 11, 1963):

> I too have been interested in the effect of Guru Gobind Singh's reactions to the concern expressed by the Nawab in his day. I talked with the present Nawab on two occasions about this very question. He told me some facts that verify the influence during the Partition of Guru Gobind Singh's declarations. I suggested the presence of the Nawab's army lessened the attacks by Sikhs on Muslims. He stated that he can document evidence to show that the Sikhs actually responded to protect Muslims by belief in what Gobind Singh had commanded. Muslims *en route* to Malerkotla *via* train were attacked, but when the Sikhs knew they were going to Malerkotla they spared them and personally escorted them to Malerkotla. Many Muslims fleeing for their lives were being pursued by Sikhs trying to kill them, but when they crossed into the border of Malerkotla State they stopped and granted them their lives. There is no question in the Nawab's mind . . . that the Muslims were spared in Malerkotla State directly because of Gobind Singh's declaration that the Muslims of that State were to be protected.
>
> The Nawab has Gobind Singh's sword, sent to his ancestor after Gobind Singh heard of his defence of his family before the Nawab of Sarhind. He also has the document sent to the Emperor of Delhi by his forefather as a protest against the cruelty of the Nawab of Sarhind . . . There are 32,000 Muslims living in Malerkotla right now

and they are at peace with their Sikh, Hindu, and Christian neighbours.

Fourthly, the Sikhs have a sense of service and of obligation to their community. A good Sikh, for example, should be a tither, and Dasaundha Singh, "Tither" Singh*, is a common name among them. In the Ad Granth the gurus constantly speak of offering themselves a sacrifice to the Lord, even as Nanak says, in Asa ki Var, "I am a sacrifice to my guru a hundred times a day."

A personal experience will illustrate how the ideal of service is developed and practised. Once a group of us were walking around the sacred tank of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, as any foreigner is welcome to do if he keeps his head covered and his feet bare. A couple of Sikhs were accosting all comers with the plea, "Sewa karo, sewa karo," "Do a service, do a service." They were pointing out a row of baskets filled with rubble from building operations. This rubble was to be carried up a ramp and thrown over the wall. This is usually the work of coolies, but it afforded a means of practising the service ideal, and, incidentally, of sharing in the virtue sure to accrue to one helping in that holy work. Well dressed Sikhs, men and women, were carrying baskets up the ramp as we joined them, and a missionary lady principal, a home economics teacher, my fifteen-year old daughter, and myself carried our baskets up the ramp. Teja Singh remarks that gurdwaras are schools for teaching the practice of service to be applied later in the world abroad. People of high families may be seen in the gurdwaras sweeping the pavements, cleaning utensils, fetching water, or plying the large fans.[16]

Fifthly, the Sikhs are fatalists; indeed, they seem to have absorbed both Hindu *karma* and Islamic *qismet* (*taqdir*). Nanak in the Japji often mentions God's *hukam*, order, or will; it is sometimes hard to tell whether this is the sovereign will of a loving God, or the caprice of Allah, but this will is final and all-inclusive:

> By His order men are high or low; by His order they obtain preordained pain or pleasure.

* The tenth son may be so named also.

By His order some obtain their reward; by His order
others must ever wander in transmigration.
All are subject to His order; none is exempt from it.
(Japji verse 2.)[17]

Gobind Singh states that the Immortal "takes a stylus in His hand and writes the fate on the brow." (Vichitar Natak 1:25) This latter sounds like Allah's will. Man's free will is also posited:

Governed by his free will he laughs or weeps;
Of his free will he begrimes or washes himself;
Of his free will he degrades himself from the order of
human beings;
Of his free will he befools himself or becomes wise.
(Asa ki Var, 7 Pauri.)[18]

Whence then comes this free will? "It comes to man from the will of God and determines his conduct according to his antecedents." This leave us where so many theologians come out, namely, that man's freedom is due to self-limitation on the part of God. And since the Lord as pictured for the most part in the Ad Granth is a God of grace, fatalism should lose its sombre aspect and approach more to the idea of the will of a loving Father. As Dr. Jodh Singh puts it, "He is supremely merciful and puts straying creatures on the right way."[19]

This fatalism is one of the components of that adaptability and flexibility of character so prominent in this people. They accept whatever fate wills, and adapt themselves to it. Their energy and opposition to ascetic escapism, however, saves them from that abject helplessness and apathy so often seen in extreme fatalists.

Sixthly, the Sikhs are independent and democratic; they are equal members of a Brotherhood, the Khalsa. It was this spirit of independence that drove them to revolt against the Brahman-dominated caste system in the first place; and it was this same spirit that led them to organize the Khalsa as a militant brotherhood to oppose domination by an alien religion. They have always existed as a minority community in the midst of hostile or, at least, unsympathetic social

majorities, so that fear of domination is an obsession with them.

As an example of Guru Nanak's uncompromising sense of democracy and integrity, the story of Lalo and Malik Bhago is well known. In a visit to Sayyadpur Guru Nanak stayed with a poverty-stricken carpenter, a Sikh, Lalo by name. Malik Bhago, an official of the town, rebuked him for staying with a low-caste Sudra instead of attending Bhago's feast. In reply, Guru Nanak sent for a piece of bread from Lalo's house. He took this coarse bread in one hand and Bhago's dainty bread in the other, and squeezed them. Lalo's gave forth milk; Bhago's, blood. One had been earned by honest toil; the other by extortion. God's saints often have the disconcerting habit of looking in the heart rather than on outward show.

In all the vicissitudes of an often tragic history, the Sikhs have preserved a saving sense of humour, a seventh notable characteristic. They love jokes, and some authorities say that jokes about the Sikhs are often made up by the Sikhs themselves. The Jat farmer, in company with farmers the world over, is the butt of many jokes. "His baby has a plough-tail for a plaything." "When it is sowing-time with the Jat, everyone is his aunt or sister-in-law; when the crop is ripe he does not know his own sister." *The Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature* by Kahn Singh (Mahān Kosh) lists some 530 special terms used by the Khalsa to clothe the ordinary things of life—and some of the extraordinary things, too—in humour. The humble onion is a "a silver ball." The smelly goat is "a heavenly fairy." Dry bread is "rich, juicy pulao." Demanding food and lodging from a village is not begging (which is frowned on by the Sikhs), it is "levying a tax." The heavenly music or "unbeaten sound" heard by mystics in the ecstasy of the trance-state is the Khalsa term for "snoring!" A story has been going the rounds of the Punjab. It was first told on Master Tara Singh when he was campaigning against the "establishment." Addressing a gathering of villagers, he is reported to have said, "Now boys, don't pay your water tax to Government. The water is no good for your crops any more. Up there at the

Bhakra power house they have taken all the electricity out of the water!" An American newspaper printed a joke about a Sikh Sardar over in the Punjab who night after night went to see the same movie. The episode of interest to him was that of a scantily clad young woman in a pond across the railway track. Just as she was about to emerge into full view a train roared past. When asked why seeing that once wasn't enough, the Sardar replied, "I know the Indian railways, and one of these days that train will be late!"

Two major characteristics remain to be noticed; the aggressiveness and the adaptability of the Sikhs.

The warrior strain appeared in their ancestors of old. Their Aryan forebears conquered all Northern India, singing the hymns of the Vedas as they went. A devout appreciation of Nature went along with the ruthless dispossession of the *Dasyus.* These vedic Aryans were the original warrior-saints. and the ideal of the soldier-saint dominates the Sikhs to this day. Sometimes this aggressiveness took the form of missionary zeal—witness the long preaching tours of Guru Nanak and Guru Teg Bahadur. At other times, many of them, degenerated into quarrelsomeness and factionalism. Once when they were united under Maharaja Ranjit Singh they conquered all the Punjab and even Kashmir; but after his death they broke up into warring factions and lost much of what they had gained. It was, of course, this Kshatriya strain in the Jats that Guru Gobind Singh appealed to so successfully in his Granth, when the pressure of outward aggression united them in a remarkable fellowship.

An Indian historian remarks with admiration on the "elasticity of character, the power to adapt themselves to all circumstances" of the Sikhs. Their vigour of body and mind enabled them to withstand the changes of a rigorous climate, so that "the burning sun, heavy rains, freezing winter and rough weather exercised no deterring influence on them." Even persecution, the destruction of their homes and sacred buildings, and the enslavement of their women and children did not succeed in crushing their spirit.[20]

The history of the Sodhi and Bedi families, as given in the

second, third, and fourth chapters of Guru Gobind Singh's autobiographical sketch, the *Vichitar Natak,* exhibits in vivid fashion the quarrelsomeness, and, at the same time, the flexibility of character in his ancestors, whereby warriors turned scholars; ascetics, rulers; and rulers, ascetics in kaleidoscopic succession with a minimum of friction. Here is a prose summary of the original poem:

From the union of Ram and Sita were born two sons, Lav and Kushu. Lav founded Lahore and Kushu founded Kasur. Kalrai was a descendant of Lav, Kalket of Kushu. These two began to quarrel, with the result that Kalket vanquished Kalrai, and Kalrai fled to the Sanaudh country (the area between Muttra and Amarkot, south of Delhi). While the Kalket family established itself in Lahore as rulers, Kalrai married the princess of Sanaudh. Their son, Sodhi Rai, became Raja there, and he had two sons, Jagat Rai and Prithvi Rai. Appointing Prithvi Rai as Raja, Sodhi Rai took his elder son Jagat Rai and marched on Lahore. They remembered the old enmity and wished to avenge themselves by re-taking Lahore. This they accomplished after a bloody battle. The surviving members of the Kushu family fled to Kashi. There they became peaceful readers and expounders of the Vedas, whence the family names Bedi (Vedi) comes. Their fame reached their brothers the Sodhis ruling Lahore. The Bedis were invited to Lahore with the plea that bye-gones be bye-gones. They went, and expounded the Vedas so cogently that the Sodhi Raja turned his kingdom over to the Vedis and became a forest-dwelling Rishi. For a while the Bedis enjoyed being rulers again. The prophesy was made that a Guru, Nanak by name, would appear in the world in their family. To the Sodhi Raja in voluntary exile a like prophesy of a Guru was made, to be fulfilled in the fourth generation. Then among the Bedis the old proneness to quarrel developed, and by fighting among themselves, they lost their kingdom, apparently because of the confusion of castes that resulted from the disintegration of society during war. "Brahmans began to do the work of Sudras,

while Sudras usurped the religious duties of Brahmans." (Chap. V, verse 2). Fortunately the Bedis still had some twenty villages left in their possession, so they took to farming. It was among these Bedi farmers that Guru Nanak was born. Nanak became Angad, Angad became Amar Das as one lamp is lit from another. (Verse 7). Then Ram Das of the Sodhi family became Guru and fulfilled the rest of the prophecy.

Here, then, was a devout and gifted people with a flair for organization, loving their families and keeping a high standard of living, with loyalty and responsibility to their community; independent, aggressive, and adaptable to whatever fate, in the hands of a merciful Lord, had for them. Equally ready to take the plough or the sword, they had been forced by a hostile religious and political environment to fight for their very existence as free men. How then have they fared in the years since their last guru died in 1708? Have they had to wield the plough or the sword?



A NIHANG

CHAPTER FOUR

Their History Since 1708

In the years following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 it seems as if the Sikhs kept a plough in one hand and a sword in the other. Somehow, amid turmoil and persecution, they managed to keep enough farming going to feed themselves and the country, while they fought external aggressors, or each other, pretty constantly. The vicissitudes of history have not allowed them to settle down long enough to beat their swords entirely into ploughshares again.

The Mission of Banda Singh Bahadur

It will be recalled that Banda, a Bairagi monk, had been converted by the guru at Nander, and sent to the Punjab on a mission of vengeance just about the time of the guru's death. Sikh historians describe how Banda "marched in the direction of Sarhind, plundering and destroying the important Muslim places on his way." Samana was suddenly attacked and devastated, because it was the birth-place of Jalal-ud-Din, who had been employed to kill Guru Teg Bahadur. There about 10,000 Mohammadans were killed and immense booty taken by the Sikhs.[21] After reducing a number of Muslim strongholds, he was besieged by the Imperial armies near Gurdaspur in the Punjab, captured, and taken with many cart loads of Sikh prisoners to Delhi. As they passed through jeering crowds of Muslims, they kept cheerful and replied to the jeerers "that it had so been decreed by the Almighty, and that their capture and misfortune was in accordance with His will."[22] Banda was finally tortured to death on June 9, 1716. Much controversy has raged about him both on the part of the Muslims and on the part of the Sikhs. The Muslims claim that he inflicted terrible atrocities on Muslim men, women, and children, that he forced thousands of Muslims to

become Sikhs (one wonders just how he did this). However all this may be, two accomplishments of lasting importance are credited to him. One was the abolition of the zamindari system in the Punjab. The absentee landlords were ejected and the land made over to the farmers, with the result that the Punjab, in distinction to most of Northern India, has developed as a land of peasant proprietors.[23] The second result was more intangible, but also of far-reaching importance, in that the will of the ordinary masses was steeled to resist tyranny and to give up all for a national cause.[24] Those scattered embers of the Khalsa, of which Guru Gobind Singh spoke to Aurangzeb, were once again fanned into a flame.

The Misals and Maharaja Ranjit Singh

During the years following the death of Banda, the decay of Muslim rule gave opportunity for the rise of the Sikh confederacies, or *misals*, twelve in number, each loosely organized under its local leader. Representatives of these used to gather in Amritsar at the fall and spring festivals and, in the presence of the Granth, pass resolutions to guide the community. These were called *gurmattas*, and "all Sikhs were expected to receive them as decisions of the Guru."[25]

However, rivalry intensified and the misals quarrelled among themselves. This went on from bad to worse, until Ranjit Singh and his *misal* gained the upper hand. He eventually became Maharaja of all the Punjab west of the Sutlej River and also of Kashmir, with his capital at Lahore.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement

The Sikhs threw in their lot with the British army during the Mutiny of 1857. The British, on their part, helped restore Singhism by requiring their army recruits from the Sikhs to wear the five signs of the Singhs; and this helped avert a lapse into Hinduism; for about the time of Ranjit Singh Hindu influence predominated in many gurdwaras, where idols were installed, and *sati*, widow-burning, had become common—

Ranjit Singh's widows were burnt alive with his corpse. A Gurdwara Reform Movement was started by the Sikhs themselves, and after prolonged agitation in 1925 the control of all Sikh shrines was put into the hands of an elected body, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, with headquarters at Amritsar.

The Jallianwala Massacre

During the non-co-operative days of agitation against the British Government, a political meeting of Hindus and Sikhs was held on Sunday, April 13, 1919, in a walled garden of Amritsar called Jallianwala Bagh. This was in defiance of the government's ban on all such meetings. General Dyer and a small force of Gurkhas opened fire with heavy machine-guns on the crowd at point-blank range. As there was only one gate for exit, a panic ensued and hundreds were trampled to death. 1,500 people were left dead or dying in the garden, about one-third of them Sikhs. This garden has now become a national shrine. Gen. Dyer was censured by the British Government, but irreparable damage had been done to Sikh-British relations.

The Nankana Massacre

The dangers inherent in the gurdwara-control agitation were dramatized by the massacre at Nankana. The main Sikh gurdwaras had land attached, thousands of acres in some cases, the revenue from which was to be used for the upkeep of the gurdwaras. This income was a constant temptation to unscrupulous managers. At Nankana, Guru Nanak's birth-place southwest of Lahore, the gurdwara had gotten into the control of a Hindu Mahant by the name of Narain Das. He was suspected of dishonesty and there was agitation for his removal by the Sikhs. On February 20, 1921, a group of Akalis entered the shrine as worshippers, possibly to try to take possession. The Mahant was ready for them. The doors were closed behind them and Narain Das' hired assassins shot and stabbed

the 130 Akalis to death, and then tried to burn their bodies after pouring oil. Narain Das was given a life sentence and three of the assassins were hanged; but the Sikhs were angry with the government for judgment considered too lenient, and the feeling against Hindus was not improved, either. In the five years of agitation for gurdwara reform over thirty thousand men and women went to jail and thousands were killed and wounded.[26]

The Partition of the Punjab—1947

All the internal dissensions and external grievances of the Sikh community during the turbulent first half of the twentieth century were nothing compared to the calamities that enveloped the Sikhs during the Partition of India in August, 1947. The Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah agitated for division of India so that the Muslim majority districts in the Punjab and Bengal could have their own national territory with their own independent government and their own culture. The Sikh leaders finally agreed to this plan for a separate Muslim State, hoping that the dividing line would be such as to exclude from Pakistan their numerous canal colonies and shrines in the southwest Punjab. This was not possible under the Boundary Award, and the Sikh community was split right in two. However, the presence of the Sikhs in their homelands of Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts saved most of the East Punjab for India, as Mr. Jinnah wished Pakistan to include the whole of the Punjab as far as the Sutlej River. Early in 1947 communal riots between the Muslims and the Hindu-Sikh minorities began and soon spread over both the Northwest and the Northeast extremities of India, and murder, rape, and looting on a colossal scale was committed by both sides. The result of these killings and lootings combined with terrific floods was the death of perhaps 500,000 people, men, women, and children, and the enforced migration of some 8,000,000 refugees from East and West Pakistan, and another 8,000,000 from India.[27] It is estimated that about 2½ million Sikhs had to leave Pakistan.[28]

While it is not the purpose here to discuss details of the Partition rioting, there can be no reasonable doubt that, as has happened so often throughout the course of Sikh history, the Muslims were the aggressors. Mr. G. D. Khosla, chairman of the Fact Finding Organization set up by the Government of India, is quoted as saying:

> The Sikhs had opposed the Partition of India with even greater vigour than the Hindus, because they felt that as a community they could only expect disaster in Pakistan; it was, therefore, against the Sikhs that the spear-point of the Muslim League attack was first aimed. In the March riots, the Sikhs of Rawalpindi faced annihilation and large numbers of them left the district. Within a few weeks almost the entire Sikh population (save those who were killed or converted) had migrated from the district.[29]

Some idea of the economic loss to the Sikh community may be gained by comparing the agricultural lands involved in West Pakistan and East Punjab. In West Pakistan about 4,000,000 acres, 43,000 of them irrigated, were abandoned in exchange for some 2,500,000 acres, 13,000 irrigated in the East Punjab; and it was mostly Sikh farmers who were involved in this loss.[30] The frustration and desperation of these homeless hordes of refugees taxed the government to the limit, coming as it did during the period of readjustment following Partition. In spite of the terrible human suffering and incalculable property loss it caused, the black cloud of Partition shows some bright spots also. The whole Punjab Province was in a state of ferment, and while society was in a fluid state some bold rehabilitation plans were introduced by government. Among the gains, then, are:

An impetus to the consolidation of holdings;
The disappearance of many absentee landlords and of the "Idle Rich;"
Progressive methods of shop-keeping: fruit, for example, is becoming more common in towns and villages;
Houses, indeed, whole villages have been rebuilt in modern ways;
Model Towns have been built near most large cities;

Intensive farming and gardening have developed;
Co-operatives of various kinds are being tried;
Twenty-seven Garden Colonies for fruit culture, totalling 20,000 acres, have been organized on evacuee land;
Vigour and experience from the West has come to re-vitalize the East Punjab.[31]

After these enforced mass-migrations, then, the Sikhs have settled down, accepting whatever fate has appointed for them, and with that flexibility that seems innate in them have adapted themselves to the new conditions and converted the East Punjab from a deficit area into a surplus one in respect to foodgrains. Mr. M. S. Randhawa, Rehabilitation Commissioner, Punjab, sums up this triumph of restoration as follows:

> Oak is the national tree of Germany, Maple of Canada and *Tahli* (shisham) of the Punjab. *Tahli* is also symbolic of the Punjab peasant. It is one of the hardest woods, and also the most useful. It can stand lopping and mutilation as no other tree can. Even if cut to its very roots it will sprout again in spring... How symbolic of the people the *Tahli* tree is! Like Phoenix, the mythical bird of Chinese folk-lore, who after burning itself on a funeral pyre, rose again from its ashes young and vigorous, Punjab is born again after undergoing a terrible ordeal, which could have destroyed a weaker race.[32]

Dr. Fauja Singh, Reader in History at Delhi University, brings us up to the year 1960, and mentions among the achievements of the new Punjab Government the completion of the Bhakra-Nangal Dams which made electricity available to the villages for lighting, tube-wells, and other machinery; the many new canals; the implementation of the All-India Panchayat system of local self-government; educational institutions such as the new Sanskrit University at Kurukshetra, the new Punjabi University at Patiala, the Agricultural University at Ludhiana; three engineering colleges, besides numerous technical schools and other schools and colleges—quite an imposing achievement for a Government that had to resettle several million refugees. The Central Government, too, has

usually been ready to give substantial help for worth-while projects.

The great unsolved problem, however, is still communalism, no longer Hindu-Muslim, but now Hindu-Sikh. The controversy has focussed on the Hindi and Punjabi languages, as to whether Hindi in the Devanagari script, or Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script should be the official language in schools and government departments. The Arya Samaj and the Jan Sangh launched the "Save Hindi" agitation; the Akalis went to jail in the thousands for a "Punjabi Suba," that is, a Punjabi-speaking (and Gurmukhi-writing) State. With the official use of Gurmukhi Punjabi in some districts and Devanagari Hindi in others, and with the development of the Punjabi and Sanskrit universities, Dr. Fauja Singh sees hope of a solution on regional lines being worked out.[33]

This solution has taken a political form. In 1968 the Punjab was further divided to form the three States of Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh. The division was mainly according to linguistic areas. The official language of the Punjab is Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script; of Haryana, Hindi in the Devanagari script. Himachal has a mixture of these and Pahari, in the Devanagari script. There was much controversy over the status of Chandigarh, which both the Punjabi Suba and Haryana claimed as their capital. For a couple of years it was made a Union Territory under the Central Government, like Delhi. Plans for dividing the city between the two contending States did not promise a solution satisfactory to either. Finally Chandigarh was made the capital of the Punjab State. This led to disturbances in Haryana. It remains to be seen whether these adjustments on linguistic, cultural, and territorial lines offer the final solution for the peoples of this progressive and aggressive area of India.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Sikh Scriptures

The Ad Granth

The year 1604 was important for Sikhism, for in that year Guru Arjan finished compiling the Ad Granth, or Sikh Bible. The Sikhs had an authoritative line of gurus; a sacred script (Gurmukhi); an organized religious community; and a religious capital at Amritsar with its central shrine, the Golden Temple. The time was ripe for a sacred book which would crystallize the religious beliefs of Sikhism.

Indeed, the time was a critical one for the true guruship; for Guru Arjan's rival, his elder brother Prithia, was composing hymns and passing them out as compositions of Guru Nanak and other gurus, possibly hoping thus to be recognized as the true successor to the guruship instead of Arjan. After due counsel, then, Guru Arjan decided on an authentic compilation of Sikh scriptures. The hymns of the first three gurus had been compiled into a volume in the possession of one Mohan, son of the third Guru Amar Das. Guru Arjan, after considerable difficulty, procured this volume from Mohan, who was hostile, as he, too, had been passed by for the guruship in favour of another. Macauliffe describes how Guru Arjan pitched camp in a secluded glade near Amritsar and invited bards and followers of the principal Indian saints since the days of Jaidev to attend and suggest suitable hymns for the sacred volume. From our knowledge of the Indians' love of poetry it can readily be surmised that a notable gathering of poets took place, and many followers of saints, both Hindu and Muslim, commended their masters' works for inclusion in the sacred volume. Besides the writings of the Sikh gurus, which form the bulk of the Granth, hymns of some two dozen bhagats and Sufis were selected for inclusion by Guru Arjan. After the selections had been made, the whole was dictated to Bhai Gur Das, who wrote them out in Gurmukhi.

The principles that guided Guru Arjan in the selection of hymns are indicative of the nature of Sikhism as a reformed and dissenting faith. It is said that the guru rejected hymns of self-deification; those derogatory to women; those which advised the concealing of God's message from men; and those disparaging life and its struggles. The inclusion of the writings of Hindu and Muslim holy men is an interesting feature of the Granth. Some of them are represented by only a verse or two, some voluminously, like Kabir with over a thousand verses. These bhagats include high and low castes. Jaidev was the Brahman poet who wrote the Gitagovinda; another Brahman, Sur Das, was a government official; Namdev was a tailor and ex-robber; Trilochan was a Vaisya; Sadhna, a butcher; Ramanand was the great Brahman teacher of outcastes; five of his disciples are represented in the Granth, namely, Dhanna, a Jat farmer; Pipa, a raja; Sain, a low caste barber; Kabir, a weaver, and Ravi Das, an outcaste leather worker. Also included are some writings of two Muslims, Sheikh Farid and Bhikhan, both Sufis. In view of Guru Arjan's missionary-mindedness, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that he included writings of men of all castes and even of outcastes both as a protest against the caste system of Brahmanism and with a view to the spreading of Sikhism among all men; for we are told that the guru wished the translation of the Granth to be made into foreign languages that its truth might spread "as oil on water."

The languages used in the Ad Granth are six in number, and the dialectic variations innumerable. Some of the bhagats' writings go back to the twelfth century; and even the Punjabi of 1500-1700, the period of the ten gurus, is to a great degree obsolete today. Macauliffe, in the Introduction to his *Sikh Religion*, (p. vi) describes his difficulties with the Ad Granth as follows:

> There is hardly any one Sikh who is capable of making a correct translation of his sacred writings. A man who is a good Sanskrit scholar will not know Persian and Arabic, and he who knows Persian and Arabic will not know words of Sanskrit derivation. A man who knows Hindi will not

know Marathi; a man who knows Marathi will not know Punjabi and Multani and so on. Moreover, there are words in the Sikh sacred writings which are peculiar to them and cannot be traced to any known language. As to these, one must accept the traditional interpretations. The *Granth Sahib* thus becomes probably the most difficult work, sacred or profane, that exists, and hence the general ignorance of its contents.

In spite of these difficulties, Macauliffe and the Gianis assisting him produced a six-volume work of orientation and interpretation that is still the standard work on Sikhism and is a classic in the field of religion. This was written in English; and recently translations of the Ad Granth into English and other languages along with numerous commentaries and devotional interpretations have appeared, both in English and in Punjabi, written by various learned Sikhs.

The main outline of the composition of the Ad Granth is clear enough.* First, there comes a liturgical section composed of devotional readings for morning and evening, for weddings, and for other special occasions. Some of these are selections compiled from various parts of the books that follow. Every good Sikh should have the Japji (the opening section) by heart and repeat it every morning, since it is considered to be an epitome of the teaching of the Granth. This is no small feat, since it is twenty-three pages long in Macauliffe's translation. Next come the four main books, which are called *ragas,* or tunes, according to the melody to which they are chanted: the *Srirag, Majh, Gauri,* and *Asa.* Next follow the minor books, twenty-six in number, which are, generally speaking, variations and elaborations on the four major books preceding them.

Each *rag* or book is in turn divided off according to metre and author. The compositions of the first guru are labelled *Mahalla I* (section I), those of the second guru, *Mahalla II,* and so on. Each guru signs himself "Nanak" by inserting that name in the last line of the poem, since the same divine spirit that was in Nanak was supposed to have passed on into all

* Reference is to the 24 point type Revised Edition, known as the *Damdama Bir,* containing 1,430 pages 7 inches by 11 inches.

the gurus in turn "as one lamp is lit from another." However logical this arrangement of the contents may be as to external form, it gives a most fragmentary impression as to meaning, for each page may contain three or four different poems on different subjects or by different writers, comprising, in a confused way instruction, exhortation, or "the mystical rhapsodies on God" that "bulk so large in the Granth." (Hume) Tune and metre are thus all important; indeed Bhai Mani Singh was once cursed by the Khalsa for rearranging the Ad Granth according to authors. However, as the Granth should be looked on as a book of hymns expressing the emotional outpourings of the spirit, the importance of a logical arrangement of the contents need not be overstressed.

In general, the poetry of the Granth resembles that of the Psalms and the Proverbs of the Bible, with many passages that remind one of the Song of Songs. Historical narrative or prose teaching such as is found in the New Testament is altogether lacking in the Ad Granth. It seems somewhat strange that the best known poem, the Japji of Guru Nanak, which is to be memorized and recited daily, is written in rhymed verse but is without a *rag* or tune, whereas all the rest of the hymns are written to tunes.

With regard to the teaching of the Granth, it is evident that a strictly logical system of teaching should not be expected in a book of mystical and rhapsodical hymns. Certain ideas emerge as dominant by virtue of much repetition, even when conflicting ideas may also occasionally be expressed. In general then, Hindu theology of the contemplative bhakti type is accepted, with a loving personal God who offers salvation by grace to those who faithfully meditate on His Name. But Hindu religious practices are firmly rejected, such as the priesthood of the Brahmans, pilgrimages, the sacred thread, asceticism, and especially idolatry. The teaching is tinged at times with Hindu pantheism, and often coloured with Muslim ideas of the absoluteness, not to say the capriciousness, of God, along with fatalistic resignation to His absolute Will; but on the whole, ethical monotheism prevails.

Sardar Kahn Singh, who was one of the Gianis with whom

Macauliffe worked, and who is the editor of the valuable *Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature,* lists Sikh teachings as follows: the rejection of caste, Hindu pilgrimages, bodily mortification, religious garb, untouchability, and Hindu superstitions generally; and the acceptance of monotheism, the Ad Granth as Scripture, the practice of philanthropy, gratitude, and loyalty to the sovereign, transmigration, and salvation by true knowledge which is gained by good associations. Prof. Teja Singh has described the principles of Sikhism as the rejection of magic mantras, miracles, incarnations, special revelations, and a sacred language: and the acceptance of monotheism, the reality of the world, other saviours such as Christ and Mohammad, the equality of women, the need of social service; and he gives the essence of Sikhism and "Nam aur Sewa," (the Name and Service) or adoration of God through repeating His Name, and service to mankind.

Outstanding teaching, then, is: a prevailing monotheism, tinged with pantheism; belief in karma and transmigration, along with belief in the grace of God for the immediate salvation of His bhaktas; predestination as necessary to salvation; the necessity and absolute authority of the guru; worship of God by repeating His Name; the advantage of the communion of the saints, and of congregational worship; and the need of service to mankind. A very fair evaluation is given by Heiler in *The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh:*

> Sundar Singh's ancestral faith is a pure and elevated religion in which the best of Hinduism and the best of Islam unite, a religion which can point to its saints and its martyrs. Many elements of the Sikh religion, like belief in the forgiving love of God and His revelation of Himself in a human being, come very near to the central truths of Christianity; though these glimpses of revelation are indeed blurred by the strong influence of Vedantic pantheism and Islamic fatalism. Above all, the element which robs the teaching of the Granth of any vital creative power is its eclecticism, its continual oscillation between theism and pantheism, personalism and impersonalism, belief in forgiveness and longing for Nirvana. In this mixed religion a

soul like that of Sundar Singh, which longed intensely for a final unity and for deep satisfaction, could not find a home. But in spite of all its deficiencies and weaknesses, it was still rich enough and pure enough to become to this seeking soul a schoolmaster unto Christ.[31]

There are two main editions of the Ad Granth. One is that written by Bhai Gur Das at Guru Arjan's dictation. It is generally believed by both Sikhs and western scholars that this volume is still in existence at Kartarpur in Jullundur district. The second edition is that made by Guru Gobind Singh at Damdama Sahib in the south Punjab. To the Ad Granth of Guru Arjan he added several hymns and *slokas* of the ninth guru, Teg Bahadur along with one short *sloka* of his own. These additions are not extensive; they cover only twenty-seven pages out of several hundred in Macauliffe's translation. They are a supplement merely; indeed, the old Granth at Kartarpur contains blank pages, on which it is said that Guru Arjan had prophesied that hymns of a later martyred guru would be inscribed. The standard Ad Granth of today, then, is the edition prepared by the tenth guru, called the Damdama Bir.

An unauthorized edition by Bhai Banno is sometimes mentioned. It seems that he contrived to copy Bhai Gur Das' Granth and added to it some hymns of his own choice, including some of the Rajputana Princess Mirabai who was a devotee of Lord Krishna.

Modern Translations

Under the title, *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* some of the favourite portions of the Ad Granth have been translated into English by such noted Sikh scholars as Dr. Trilochan Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Kapur Singh, Bawa Harkishen Singh, and Khushwant Singh. This is part of UNESCO's "Major Project" for furthering mutual appreciation of the cultural values of East and West. It was done under the direction of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. In the Foreword Dr. Arnold Toynbee well says:

> This translation is the first that has made the Adi Granth accessible, in more than short extracts, to the English-speaking public... The Adi Granth is part of mankind's common spiritual treasure... A book that has meant, and means, so much to such a notable community as the Sikh Khalsa deserves close study from the rest of the world.[35]

A polyglot version of the Ad Granth has been prepared by Manmohan Singh, advocate, a refugee from Lyallpur, as he himself says in the Preface. The original Gurmukhi text is given in one column, with literal translations in English and modern Punjabi (Gurmukhi) in parallel columns, with the words of the text numbered in all three columns so that the exact meanings can be easily traced. The entire work will consist of eight volumes, covering some 5,000 pages, and should prove valuable to students of the Ad Granth.

The Granth of the Tenth Guru

It is somewhat confusing to find that the Sikhs have not one Granth, but two. The Granth of the Tenth Guru, sometimes also called The Holy Granth of the Tenth Sovereign, is a book almost equal in length to the Ad Granth. It was compiled in a confused manner over a century and a quarter after the Ad Granth of Guru Arjaṇ, and twenty-six years after Guru Gobind Singh's death. A brief glance at this Granth will reveal something of the influence that has moulded the Sikh character. Of the 1,428 pages in the Dasam Granth,* perhaps something over a hundred pages are the tenth guru's own poetry. The remainder consists of hero tales, especially those of Rama and Krishna; praises of Durga as a war-goddess; mythological tales of wars between gods and demons; riddles about weapons; "Barrack-room" Tales of the Wiles of Women (well over a third of the Granth); a letter to Aurangzeb called the Zafarnama, along with eleven Tales, all in the Persian language but written in the Gurmukhi character. The tenth guru's own compositions are religious poetry of a high order

* This is the smaller edition, printed on pages 11 inches by 7 inches in 24 point type, dated 1934.

and include the Jāp (Meditation); Akāl Ustat (Praise of the Immortal); Vichitar Nātak (Wonderful Drama); Chandi Ki War (Epic of Chandi, or Durga); Gian Prabodh (Excellence of Wisdom); Shabad Hazare and Swaiyas; and the Zafarnāma (Epistle of Victory). The other writings were probably the work of the guru's poets and translators done under the supervision of the guru, who sometimes added verses of his own as at the end of the Tales of Women where some very lofty verses are found which have no connection whatever with the tales preceding. This Granth was compiled by Bhai Mani Singh twenty-six years after the guru's death. Its purpose may be taken to be that stated in a verse at the end of the Krishan Autar, namely, "to arouse desire for a holy war." (Verse 2491) Guru Gobind Singh qualifies this in the Zafarnama when he says, "When all other means have proven ineffective, it is right to take up the sword." (V. 22) Macauliffe gives three reasons for the translations from Hindu mythology and the Hindu epics; first, to dispel cowardice and incite to bravery by filling the mind with heroic examples; second, by showing what a brave woman (the goddess Chandi) could achieve in battle, in order to spur brave *men* on to surpass her achievements: and third, that his Sikhs might see the inferiority of the Hindu sacred writings and so appreciate those of their own gurus more.[36] The Dasam Granth is not generally accepted as authentic Scripture; but as militant propaganda material it dominates the thinking and conduct of the Singhs and many of the Sikhs, and has helped develop a people famed for their warlike qualities.

CHAPTER SIX

The Sikh Book of Worship and Discipline

The following information is culled from the official book of *Worship and Discipline* issued by the Shiromani Parbandhak Committee of Amritsar, dated 1950. This is an abbreviated translation from the Punjabi (Gurmukhi), except that the Sikh Prayer is translated in full. Explanations of terms and phrases are given in brackets.

Definition of Sikh: A Sikh is a man or woman who believes in the One Immortal Being; the Ten Gurus; the Holy Granth Sahib and the word (*bānī*) and teaching of all ten Gurus; the Tenth Guru's baptism (*amrit*); and who does not believe in any other religion.

Personal Devotions: A Sikh should rise early in the morning, bathe, and remember the One Immortal Being. He should repeat the Lord's Name, also the Sikh Prayer; then read the morning prayers Japji, Jāp Sahib and the Ten Sawaiyas. At sunset he should read the Sodar Rahiras hymn. At night he should read the Sohila hymn and repeat the Sikh Prayer.

The Sikh Congregational Prayer

(*Ardas*)

In the Name of One God, Victory to the Wonderful Lord.

By the help of the Almighty, an Ode to the Almighty by the Tenth Sovereign.

First having remembered the Almighty, think of Guru Nanak,

Then of Gurus Angad and Amar Das,—from Ram Das may our help come;

Remember Arjan and Hargobind and Holy Har Rai; Let us think of Holy Har Krishan by seeing whom all pain goes away.

Let us remember Teg Bahadur that the nine treasures may come hastening to our homes.

May they assist us everywhere.

May the Tenth Sovereign Holy Guru Gobind Singh be our help everywhere!

Turning your thoughts to the light of the Ten Kingdoms seen in the reading of the Guru Granth Sahib, say Wahguru! (Wonderful Lord!) Thinking of the Five Beloved (who offered their heads at Anandpur), the Four Princes (killed at Anandpur), the Forty Saved Ones (deserters who later gave their lives at the battle of Muktsar), all the stalwart saints who repeated the Name, practised generosity and hospitality, wielded the sword, and overlooked manifest faults,—thinking of the deeds of these true devotees, O Khalsa, say Wahguru!

Thinking of the deeds of those Singhs and Singhnis (feminine form) who for the love of their faith gave their heads, were cut up joint by joint, were scalped, broken on the wheel, sawn asunder,* were martyred in the service of their Gurdwaras and did not abandon their faith but preserved Sikhism with their *kes's* and breath,—thinking of their deeds, O Khalsa, say Wahguru!

Thinking of the Four Thrones and all gurdwaras, say Wahguru! First the petition of the whole Khalsa is that the whole Khalsa call to mind Wahguru! Wahguru! Wahguru! that by calling this to mind all may be peace. Wherever the Khalsa rules may there be the protection of the people, victory for both *deg* and *teg* (cooking pot and sword), honour for the faith, victory for the Panth, by the help of the Master; let the response of the Khalsa be loud, say Wahguru!!

Grant to thy Sikhs the gift of Sikhism, the gift of the *kes*, the gift of good conduct, the gift of discrimination,

* Compare in the New Testament, Hebrews chapter 11, verses 35-38.

the gift of faith, the gift of confidence, the gift of a wise mind; and may bathing at Sri Amritsar, the choirs, banners, hospices ever abide. Victory to the faith—say Wahguru!

May the heart of the Sikhs be lowly, their thought high! Thou Thyself art the Protector of the faith, O Wahguru! O Immortal One, ever be the giver of help to Thy Panth. Grant to the Khalsa the boon of freely visiting and ever supporting Sri Nankana Sahib and other Gurdwaras and holy places from which the Panth has been separated.

O Honour of the dishonoured, Strength of the weak, Refuge of the shelterless, True Father, Wonderful Lord, in Thy Presence we make this prayer.* Forgive our errors and mistakes, prosper the enterprises of all.

Help us to meet those beloved in whose fellowship Thy Name may come to mind.

May the Name of Nanak be exalted; by Thy favour may there be welfare for all.

All the congregation present during the above prayer should bow reverently before the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, and then standing up should say, "Wahiguru Ji ka Khalsa, Wahiguru Ji ki Fatah," then shout the slogan, "Sat Sri Akal!"

All men and women present in the congregation at the time of the prayer should stand with folded hands.

Then in the company of the righteous they should put in practice the Guru's teaching.

Conduct in Gurdwaras: There is a special blessing from hearing the Guru's word while sitting in a congregation. Burning of incense, waving of lights (*ārti*), lighting of lamps, beating of cymbals are not Sikh practices. No idolatry is allowed. Go around the Granth or the Gurdwara with it on your right side. Anyone may enter a Gurdwara providing he does not carry in things forbidden by the Sikh religion, such as tobacco. A Sikh should first bow before the Granth. No chairs, cushions, or seats are to be used in the congregation before the Granth. Sikhs

* Here any special petition may be inserted, or verses read.

must keep their heads covered, but women are not to be veiled.

There are four Takhts (Thrones): Akal Takht, Amritsar; Patna; Kesgarh, Anandpur; Huzur Sahib, Nander. Only hymns from the Granth should be sung in Gurdwaras, or those of Bhai Gurdas or Bhai Nand Lal.

Every Sikh should have a special place in his house for keeping the Granth, and should learn Gurmukhi in order to read it. Once a day, before eating, in the morning if possible, every Sikh should take a *hukam* (order) from the Granth. This is done by opening it at random and reading the verse beginning at the upper left-hand corner of the left-hand page.

Unbroken Reading of the Granth: The Granth is read through without stopping on special occasions. This takes about forty-eight hours, and is done by relays of readers. Any Sikh may do this, or professional Granthis may be hired to do it.

Belief and Conduct: One Immortal Person only is to be worshipped. Only the Ten Gurus should be regarded as saviours and worthy of worship (isht); the Granth Sahib and the word of all ten Gurus should be believed in. All ten Gurus are revelations of one Light and one Form. There are to be no caste distinctions, no Hindu ceremonies, or Hindu pilgrimages; there should be no belief in the Vedas, Shastras, Gayatri, Gita, Quran or Injil (New Testament). The Khalsa is to remain apart from other faiths, but to give no offence to them. Long hair (*kes*) should be worn by all ages and both sexes. Men and women are not to pierce noses or ears. Opium, liquor, tobacco, stealing, adultery and gambling are forbidden. The short kachh (short drawers) and the turban are the only clothing prescribed for men; they may wear anything else they choose.

Naming a Child: The Granth Sahib should be opened at random, and the child named from the first letter of the verse on the upper left corner of the left page. Boys' names should end in Singh, girls' names in Kaur.

Marriage: No account is to be taken of caste, but marriage is to be between Sikhs only. No marriage should be performed between small children; and no payment should be made. Widow re-marriage is allowed. Ordinarily a Sikh should have but one wife; the wife of a Singh should also be baptized. The Anand marriage ceremony should be performed, the final part of which is walking four times around the Granth, the woman behind the man and grasping the hem of his garment.

Disposal of the Dead is by burning. No memorial or tomb-stone is to be erected.

Use of the Granth: The Granth should be read and prayer offered on all the special occasions of life, such as moving into a new home, going on a journey, opening a shop or starting a business, sending a child to school, cutting the harvest, etc.

Service: This is an essential part of Sikhism, and the Gurdwaras are training places for service; therefore such service should be performed there as sweeping the Gurdwara precincts, serving drinking water to the congregation, or fanning them, and serving in the *langar*, or free kitchen. No distinction of nationality, caste, or position is to be observed in the *langar* at meal time.

Sikh Baptism: The Five Beloved chosen for administering this take the *amrit* (nectar), prepared in an iron bowl and stirred with *khandas* while portions of the Granth are read, and each in turn sprinkles it in the eyes, and on the long hair of the candidates, men or women; then each drinks of the *amrit*. They are then exhorted to observe the essential beliefs and practices of Sikhism, and these four sins are especially to be avoided: dishonouring the *kes* or long hair (cutting it); eating meat from an animal killed in Muhammadan fashion by having its throat cut; fornication or adultery; the use of tobacco.

Those subject to discipline are those who associate with Minas, Masands, Ramraiye, followers of Dhir Mal, huqqa smokers and girl slayers; those who dye their beards; those who sell off girls or boys in marriage; users of intoxicants;

and those who take part in the rites of other religions. The punishment is to be decided on by the Five Beloved ones, and should usually take the form of some menial service.

Paul the Christian mystic thus describes his experience:
I will go on to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows. And I know that this man was caught up into Paradise—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows—and he heard things that cannot be told, which man may not utter.

II Corinthians 12 : 2-4, R.S.V.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Theological Concepts in Sikhism*

BY

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God

The Sikh Scripture opens with the *mul mantra,* or key verse, which is a description of the Godhead. It may be freely translated:

> There is but one God. If you care to name Him call Him Sati (Satya), i.e., one Who was, Who is, and Who shall be. He is the doer, all-pervading, without fear, without enmity. His existence is unlimited by time. He is unborn and self-existent, can be realized through the grace of the Guru.

Belief in the existence of God is the fundamental theological concept of Sikhism. The numeral 1 in the *mul mantra* denotes His unity and uniqueness. He is one without any equal. He is not the sum-total of so many forces bundled together. On the other hand, He is the One Who makes the existence and manifestation of all the forces possible.

The Hindus worshipped various gods and goddesses. The guru advised them to worship God, who created these gods and goddesses and could destroy them too. The timeless Being is the highest among all gods and they do not know how great He is. Some Indian philosophers hold that God is "non-doer." They postulate the existence of Prakriti or Maya independent of Purusha or Brahman and attribute the act of creation of the universe to this agency. But the guru teaches otherwise.

* This is a summary of a paper prepared and read by Dr. Jodh Singh at a Dialogue-Conference on Sikhism and Christianity held at Baring Christian College, Batala, Punjab, in October, 1963. It is used with his permission.

He maintains that creation is the outcome of God's will. He is omnipresent as well as transcendent.

How can we be sure of his existence? Our soul can have communion with him, so we can be sure of his existence through the same means as cause conviction in us of our own existence.

Creation

We must leave room here for mystery and the limitation of our human understanding. Against the view that the universe is eternal and so has always existed, the gurus taught that the creation is the outcome of the exercise of His will (*Hukam*).

If God, who is all goodness, is the creator, how has evil or sin entered the world? Some religions postulate two Gods, one good the other evil; others have a Devil to explain the evil in the world. The guru tells us that what we consider to be sin, evil, or a hindrance in the path of spiritual progress has been created by God himself. The guru thinks that as physical obstacles are necessary to develop bodily strength, *Maya* and *Moh* which are the source of all evil have been created so that by conquering the obstacles placed in our path by them we may attain spiritual advancement. We are engaged in a sort of spiritual wrestling bout.

The Human Soul and its Nature

One group of religions believes that the soul undergoes no change during its sojourn on earth. The souls of persons who live according to the teaching of God's messengers and prophets will, after the extinction of their bodies, be taken to paradise by angels, or contrariwise into hell by devils. Indian religions generally teach soul development or regression, through thoughts, words and deeds, which being repeated become fixed as habits. Habits and tendencies keep changing throughout our life. So Heaven and Hell are mental states of the soul, and a person can be a *Jiwan-mukat*, that is, he can attain salvation while living in this world.

The gurus would agree that God made man in his own image, that is, spiritually understood. If the Supreme Being lives within us why cannot we feel his existence? Egoism, or selfness, separates us from God and from each other, and is the cause of our unhappiness and misery. This egoism results in a struggle for possession of things, and this drives him into lust, attachment, anger and greed. The soul needs the help of the guru to break these bonds of selfishness.

The Guru

Some regard the guru or prophet as an incarnation of the Deity; others as an enlightened one especially sent by God. The Sikh gurus claim only to be supreme in the attainment of spiritual experience of God, and ultimately a Sikh who follows the guru's instructions will reach the same stage of spiritual progress and enjoy the eternal beatitude which the guru enjoys. A Sikh, then, should completely surrender himself to his guru; for psychology teaches us that our lives are motivated not so much by conscious reasoning as by our unconscious instinctive impulses. A man, therefore, has to choose a guide in order to get out of the old rut and begin life anew, for only a guru who has himself realized the Truth can lead the disciple to the same goal. The guru communicates his ideas through the Word. Sikhism, therefore, believes that it is the Word of the guru that is the guru. Hence the tenth guru said that after him the Guru Granth Sahib would be the guru of the Panth.

The Discipline—The Name

It is not necessary for spiritual progress to renounce worldly life and meditate in the forests as an ascetic. True renunciation consists in giving up lust, anger, greed and falsehood whilst engaged in worldly activity. A person must earn his own living in some worthy pursuit, and so not only develop spiritually himself but also be in a position to help others from his earnings. The only condition is that he must practise constant remembrance of God by meditating on His

Name. Having received the gift of His Name by his grace, the God-centred life will now show its gratitude in love and service in the cause of and welfare of his fellow human beings.

> My heart is full of Him, this vision I have realized through the Guru.
> I regard everybody as my friend, and am the well-wisher of all men.
> The Lord has destroyed the pangs of separation and united me unto Himself.
> The perverse mentality has been destroyed.
> It rains nectar now, and the Word of the Guru tastes sweet.
> I have seen Ram, who pervades waters and deserts and fills both the earth and the heaven.
>
> (Dhanasari, Guru V, 4:3)

By constant remembrance we begin to "live, move and have our being in Him" and the soul is cleansed of all evil tendencies and earns eternal happiness.

Religions of Grace

Grace in the Sikh Granth and in the New Testament

One of the great words of both the Ad Granth and of the New Testament is "grace" (*parsad*). *Parsad* is found over 636 times in the Ad Granth; and if we add to this the number of times *kirpa* and *nadir* similar in meaning are used, the total would be well over a thousand. In the New Testament also it is well known that "grace" is its key word, found specifically 169 times, and referred to on nearly every page. This conception of the love of God expressed in acts of grace toward his people is one of the central points where the bhakti and the evangelical traditions come very close together.

The Sikh gurus couple grace with the guru (*Gur Parsadi*), meaning that God's grace is mediated through the guru. The New Testament writes likewise link grace to the Person and Work of Jesus Christ. The Apostle Paul understood grace to be:

> An act of astonishing self-sacrifice on the part of Christ;
> Absolutely free and unmerited on the part of men; and
> Of sin-conquering power.

In the life of Jesus Christ we might paraphrase John 1:14 to say that "Grace was made flesh and dwelt among us." Luke tells us that God's grace was upon his mother Mary before He was born, and that as a child He grew in grace daily before God and men. During his first preaching at his own village of Nazareth He spoke with graciousness of his mission to the underprivileged of the earth,—the poor, the captives, the lame, the blind.* The keynote of his life is sounded in II Cor. 8:9. "For you know the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, that you through his poverty might become rich." Because of the power of this gracious love in his life we find

* Luke 4:18-22.

him loving the unlovely, cleansing the leper with a touch, healing the sick, raising the dead, and lifting men and women fallen deep in sin to new wholeness and wholesomeness of life. This same gracious love is going forth today from the living Christ to all those who seek it, be they of high birth or lowly untouchables.

Guru Arjan in his Sukhmani reminds us that all blessings come to us not through our own merit but through God's grace; and in the section devoted entirely to that theme *parsad* is found 38 times on one page.

But while both the Ad Granth and the New Testament emphasize the need of grace, and while both come very close to each other around this great conception, there is a vital difference in the two conceptions. In the Ad Granth the teaching of grace is modified by the teaching of *karma* (works), even though the two seem contradictory to each other, so that grace cannot do its full work until *karma* has somehow worked out its mechanical system of retribution through a long series of transmigrations. However this may be explained, it seems clear that Guru Arjan teaches that any and all human beings may have the bonds of *karma* broken by their devotion to the True Name; and he gives grace full place, as when in the Sukhmani he says, "By grace, all may be saved." It is quite possible that Guru Arjan heard this emphasized in New Testament teaching, as there were Christian theologians and teachers in India in 1600.

In the New Testament this confusing conception of *karma* which, with its accompanying conception of transmigration, has so long weighed down the Hindu's spirit of hope, is totally lacking.* Grace is full, free, and abundant for all. Good works are essential, but as the fruits of salvation, not its roots, even as we read in Ephesians 2:8-10 regarding the fruit of good works: "By grace have you been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God; not because of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand that we should walk in them."

* Compare Gospel of Luke 13:1-5.

And so we may rejoice that God has left this witness of his grace to his devotees everywhere. Almost the first and last words of the Ad Granth are *parsad*; and of the New Testament one writer has well said: "And what could be more fitting than that the New Testament as a whole, of which grace is the distinctive watchword, and over every page of which we might inscribe the words 'Grace reigns,' should conclude in the last sentence of the Apocalypse with the benediction, 'The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the Saints. Amen.'"

ਨਦਰੀ ਮੋਖੁ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥

ਜਪੁ ਜੀ ੪

"In thy gracious glance is the door of Salvation."
Japji 4.

"By grace have you been saved." Ephesians 2:5.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Development of Devotional Religion (*Bhakti*)

Like other founders of religions, the Sikh gurus were influenced by the religious trends of their day and adapted them to their own needs. Two great religious movements which were thus influential are next considered: Hindu Bhakti and Islamic Sufism.

The Sikh gurus were both mystical devotees (bhaktas) and practical organizers, a combination that developed a religious reformed sect into a church, and finally into a theocracy known as the Khalsa Brotherhood. Since *bhakti* furnished the inspiration for this movement, it should be helpful to consider the development of this devotional movement in Hinduism.

The noun *bhakti* comes from the Sanskrit root *bhaj* meaning, in its religious sense, "attachment, fondness for, devotion to, trust, homage, worship, piety, faith, or love or devotion." (Monier Williams, Skrt. Dict.) Grierson translates it as "adoration" and finds included in it faith and adoration. "Loving devotion" is also commonly used.

Bhakti indicates the worshipper's attitude of loving devotion toward the Deity; *parsada*, the Deity's loving compassion, or grace, toward the devotee. *Bhakti* is also applied to the devotion of a wife to her husband, and of a loyal people to their king.

The Brahmans were the pillars of the aristocratic vedantic system of salvation by means of the knowledge of one's identity with Brahma, an intense intuitive feat attained by only the elect few in the solitude of the forest. From ancient times the Kingly or Warrior Caste of Kshatriyas reacted against the priestly domination of the Brahmans. The devotional movement of bhakti was initiated and developed mainly by Kshatriyas. Gautama, Mahavira, Krishna, Kapila, and the

Sikh gurus were all Kshatriyas; and even in the Upanishads, those strongholds of Brahman lore, King Janaka of Mithila is a famous disputer with the Brahmans; and the Kshatriya Ajatasatrud of Kashi taught Brahmans (Brihad. Up. II, i) (Kausitaki Up. iv). Grierson* credits the origin of the devotional Bhagavat (later known as Bhakti) movement to the speculative thinking of Kshatriyas. It grew out of the monotheism that persisted in developing in reaction to vedantic pantheism. Grierson makes a good case for the development of this monotheism from the ancient sun-worship, on the ground that all the legends dealing with the origin of the Bhagavat religion are connected with the sun.

The Bhagavat, or Bhakti movement passed through three stages. The first was the Kshatriya stage, and its founder was Krishna Vasudeva, a Kshatriya who later became deified as the God Krishna. The Sankhya, an atheistic dualism of matter and spirit, had grown up, founded about 600 B.C. by Kapila, who was probably a Kshatriya; and the Yoga system had evolved from primitive magic to become a technique, at first, for escaping rebirth, and later, for obtaining union with the Supreme. These abstruse philosophies were allied with popular theistic religion, at the price, of course, of becoming theistic, but with the gain of becoming widespread and popular. The Bhagavats, on their part, borrowed various terms and conceptions from Sankhya and Yoga, such as the names for the Supreme, Purusha, Narayana, Vasudeva. This stage lasted until about the fourth century B.C.

In the second stage, this predominantly Kshatriya religious philosophy was absorbed by Brahmanism. The Brahmans were probably driven to this by their life and death struggle with Buddhism, and, to gain the support of the Bhagavats, they proceeded to identify Vishnu, whose incarnation Krishna was with their own Brahma, and to discover that Kshatriyas might authentically teach religion. Doubtless the pantheism of Brahmanism was more congenial to the theism of the Bhagavats than the atheism of Buddhism. It became the mission of the Bhagavad Gita to reconcile the paths of works

* Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, art.* "Bhakti."

(*karma marg*), knowledge (*jnana marg*), and devotion (*bhakti marg*).

The third stage, that of the Reformation movements against priestly domination of the Brahmans, began about 1000 A.D. with the work of Ramanuja. It reached its crest in the reform movements launched by Ramananda and his followers. Here Kshatriya initiative and organizing ability combined with Brahman astuteness and mental acumen to give impetus to the modern *bhakti* movement.

The use of the term *bhakti* in Hindu literature is comparatively late; but the spirit of devotion to a personal and ethical God was very ancient as can be seen in some of the vedic hymns to the ethical God Varuna. Considering the cold unemotional intellectualism of the Upanishads, we would hardly expect to find much of the devotional spirit of *bhakti* there, and indeed it is rare, though not unknown:

> This Soul (Atman) is not to be obtained by instruction,
> Nor by intellect, nor by much learning.
> He is to be obtained only by the one whom he chooses;
> To such a one that Soul reveals his own person—
>
> Katha Up. II, 23 (Hume's translation).

Even more outspoken is the Svetasvatara Up. 6:23, where the term *bhakti* appears for the first time in Hindu literature:

> To one who has the highest devotion (*bhakti*) for God,
> And for his spiritual teacher (guru) even as for God,
> To him these matters which have been declared
> Become manifest (if he be) a great soul (mahatman)—
> Yea, become manifest (if he be) a great soul.
>
> (Hume).

Thus, although the whole theme of the Upanishads is salvation by knowledge, yet the beginnings of salvation by devotion make as appearance as shoots, tiny, yet endowed with vigorous life.

It is in the Mahabharata epic that salvation by *bhakti* comes into its own. In the Narayaniya section of the Twelfth Book, and especially in the episode in the Sixth Book known

as the Bhagavad Gita, *bhakti* is set forth as the supreme way of salvation, though not the only way. In the Gita 11:54 following the theophany vouchsafed Arjun, the Lord says:

> Not for the Vedas, not for mortifications, not for alms-giving, and not for sacrifice may I be seen in such guise as thou hast seen me.
>
> But through undivided devotion, Arjun, I may be known and seen in verity, and entered, O Affrighter of the Foe.

The Gita did not exclude salvation by works (*karma marg*) nor by knowledge (*jnana marg*); but it was its irenic mission to reconcile these theologies with each other and with *bhakti*. The cohesive power of Hindu thought is seen in the existence side by side of philosophies as diametrically opposed as the spiritual monism of the Vedanta, the atheistic dualism of the Sankhya, and the personal monotheism of *bhakti*.

At first *bhakti* had to take its place as "second-rate salvation," a salvation by illusion as it were, and "the warmth of *bhakti* devotion had to reconcile itself with the chill system of Advaita." Since *bhakti* demanded a personal God, and ultimate truth "belongs to the monistic doctrine where nothing is but 'Brahman' " the Impersonal, *bhakti* had to accept a place in the spheres of ignorance and illusion rather than in that of ultimate truth.[37]

It was the mission of Ramanuja to intellectualize *bhakti* and lift it out of the world of illusion into the world of reality and orthodoxy.

Ramanuja was a South India Brahman from near Trichinopoly, Madras, who lived in the eleventh century. The traditional dates are 1016-1137 A.D. Of the two classes of Vaishnava teachers, Alwars, or singers, and Acharyas, or controversialists, Ramanuja belonged to the latter. His is one of the greatest names in Vaishnava history, for by his theory of modified monism (vishishtadvaita) he gave *bhakti* theology a respectable intellectual standing alongside the rigid monism and intellectualism of the vedantic school of Shankara. This he accomplished by finding room in vedantic monism for a personal God, the first essential for the bhakta; and for individual immortal souls.

Bhandarkar, with characteristic Indian fondness for analysis and enumeration, finds that Ramanuja holds to three eternal principles: *chit*, the individual soul; *achit*, the insensate world; and *Isvara*, the Supreme Soul. The first two are the body of the third, and are related to it as attributes to substance, and so monism is saved, and modified monism is firmly founded on the vedantic scriptures. In contrast with the emotional fervour and excesses of the early Tamil Alwars and later schools of *bhakti* like Chaitanya's, Ramanuja's was of the quiet and meditative type such as mainly distinguished the later Vaishnava bhaktas like Ramanand, Kabir, and the Sikh gurus. The question of the degree of quietism necessary in salvation led to the division of his followers into the southern "cat" and northern "monkey" schools. The former, like the Calvinistic theology of Christianity, held that all the effort in salvation comes from God even as the cat saves the helpless kitten; while the latter, the Arminianists, held that man must co-operate even as the baby monkey must hold on to the mother.

Ramanuja created a great sensation in orthodox circles by loudly proclaiming in public the secret *mantra* of salvation. Although holding very strictly to caste rules in eating and drinking and social intercourse, he proclaimed that salvation by one means or another was open to all men. Of his three main ways of salvation, *bhakti* could be practised only by the twice born; but *prapatti* or taking refuge in God's grace, by all, down to Sudras and women; and likewise *acharyanism* or entire reliance on the work of the guru, was open to all, even outcastes. Even so conservative a Hindu thinker as Bhandarkar concedes that this latter may possibly be due to Christian influence. It is probable that Ramanuja came into contact with members of the Syrian Church near Madras and so imbibed some Christian teaching. Barth, on the other hand, thinks Ramanuja's monotheism came from Muslim traders rather than from poor, half-Hinduized Christian churches. Probably we can safely conclude, with Howell and Grierson, that *bhakti* was indigenous to Indian thought, but received direction and impetus from similar doctrines in Christianity,

and "with this leaven their teachings (*bhakti*) swept over Hindustan bringing balm and healing to a nation gasping in its death-throes amid the horrors of the alien invasion."

Before passing on to the *bhakti* revival that swept over India in the Middle Ages, it may be well to sum up briefly some of the teachings held in common by the different schools of Vaishnava bhaktas. Keay lists beliefs held by both Krishna and Rama worshippers as: one personal God of love and pity; incarnations; idolatry; the soul as an emanation but eternally individual; the possibility of the salvation of all castes through *bhakti*; the use of vernaculars; exaltation of the guru; the use of secret *mantras*; the sacramental meal; orders of ascetics.[38] Bhandarkar holds that Vaishnavas agree on Vasudeva as the Supreme Being in the background of their religious thinking; the use of spiritual elements from the Bhagavad Gita; and the denunciation and rejection of spiritual monism and *maya*, or illusion. *Karma* and transmigration are of course assumed by all.

It may be interesting in this connection to contrast the teachings of Yoga and *bhakti*. Yoga stresses the attainment of bliss through ascetic rigour and discipline; *bhakti*, bliss through song, dance, and rhythm. Yoga suppresses desires; *bhakti* expresses them. Yoga emphasizes concentration; *bhakti*, devotion. Yoga aims at peace; *bhakti*, joy. Yoga is individual; *bhakti*, social. In Yoga, the Eternal may be personal or impersonal; in *bhakti*, He is incarnate.[39]

The *bhakti* revival of Hinduism is usually in its modern form dated from the time of Ramananda, who is in the lineal descent of bhakta gurus from Ramanuja. He was a Gaur Brahman. Little is known of his life. It is probable that he went on extensive pilgrimages, and hence incurred the suspicion of his stricter caste fellows, a circumstance that spurred him to relax caste restrictions for his followers. His period of teaching was about 1400-1450 A.D. At first he taught the orthodox Brahmanism of the Smritis; but later he adopted the informed doctrines of Ramanuja and went far beyond him in suspending caste restrictions, so that he became the guru of

all castes, and even of outcastes. His "famous saying" in Old Hindi is:

> Jāti pāti puchhai nahin koi,
> Hari ku bhajai, so Hari kau hoi.
>
> Let no one ask about caste,
> Who worships Hari, he is Hari's.

His teaching took place mainly at Banares, where he came into contact with all shades of opinion from orthodox Brahmanism to Sufi Islam. His devotion was directed to Rama and Sita, rather than to Vishnu and Lakshmi as Ramanuja did. He also used the dialects in preaching and teaching, instead of Sanskrit. This had no small part in the spread of his doctrines among the masses, and although he left almost nothing in writing, yet even today the peasants sing his hymns from memory.

He is famous chiefly for the disciples he gathered and taught. His twelve chief disciples included the Brahmans Anantananda, Sukhananda, Surasurananda, Narhariyananda and Bhavananda; the Kshatri King Pipa; the low caste Mohammadan weaver, Kabir; the low caste barber, Sena; Dhanna, a Punjabi Jat farmer; the outcaste shoe-maker, Rai (or Ravi) Das; and even two women, Padmavati and Surasari.

Ramananda's influence survives today in the songs of Tulsi Das (1532-1623); and in the sects springing from the teaching of his great disciple Kabir (died 1518), such as the Kabir Panthis, the Dadu Panthis (Dadu, 1544-1603), and Nanak and the other Sikh gurus (1500-1700). One of the few extant writings of Ramanand is preserved in the Ad Granth of the Sikhs. According to Macauliffe, Ramanand had been invited to attend a religious service of Vishnu, and this is his reply, which shows the inwardness of his religious life:

> Whither shall I go, Sir? I am happy at home.
> My heart will not go with me; it hath become a cripple.
> One day I did have an inclination to go;
> I ground sandal, took distilled aloe wood and many perfumes,
> And was proceeding to worship God in a temple,

When my spiritual guide showed me God in my heart.
Wherever I go I find only water or stones (Rivers of pilgrimage or idols).
But Thou, O God, art equally contained in everything
The Veds and the Purans all have I seen and searched.
Go thou thither, if *God* be not here.
O true guru, I am a sacrifice unto thee
Who hast cut away all my perplexities and doubts.
Ramanand's Lord is the all-pervading God;
The guru's word cutteth away millions of sins.[10]

Thus in the end the human heart triumphed over the human intellect and true religion was seen as an attitude rather than as an idea. The whole development of *bhakti* shows the necessity of the layman's contribution to religion in order to offset the tendency of the priesthood to conserve their vested spiritual and social interests. How successful they were can be seen in the fact that in modern India the Laws of Manu are fast becoming forgotten, while the devotional songs of Tulsi Das, Kabir, and Nanak live on in the hearts and lives of the millions who have no time for religious speculation yet must have food for the soul.

CHAPTER NINE

Sufism and Sikhism

Islam entered India with the imperial conquerors in the eleventh century, and won many adherents by its prestige and by force; but it was first through the Sufis* that Islam entered the hearts of Hindus. The Sufis fraternized with Hindu ascetics and gurus, and each learned to respect the other's religious faith and life. Bevan Jones estimates that two-thirds of the Muslims of India and Pakistan today are under the influence of the dervish orders; and this is all the more remarkable when we remember that the great majority of these Muslims are Sunnis, whereas the Sufis are Shias. There seems to be little reason to doubt that these orders were equally influential in the days of the Sikh gurus.

The Christiya Order of dervishes, for example, was introduced into Ajmer in 1236 A.D., and we shall see later that Sheikh Brahm, who supplied to the Ad Granth over a hundred verses of his celebrated mystic ancestor Sheikh Farid, was a friend of Guru Nanak's. The Suhrawardiya Order was introduced into Multan in 1266, and it was on the border of this district that Nanak was born and grew up. The Qadiriya Order entered Sind in 1482, and Miyan Mir, the Pir of Lahore, belonging to this order, was a personal friend of the fifth guru, Arjan; in fact, tradition has him lay the foundation-stone of the central shrine of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It would indeed have been strange if two intermingling faiths of pantheistic and mystical tendencies, Sufism and *bhakti*, had not merged and fused at many points,—the more so, in view of the avowed purpose of the first gurus to form a synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, and unite their followers in an intermediate religion.

The names of Nanak and Kabir are linked together, and it seems clear that, whether Nanak can be called a disciple of Kabir or not, the teachings of both are very similar, and

* Muslim mystics and ascetics with pantheistic tendencies.

both represent a common *bhakti* tradition which tried to synthesize Hinduism and Islam. Next to the gurus themselves, Kabir is the most extensive contributor to the poetry of the Ad Granth, with over a thousand verses. Tradition even has these two congenial spirits meet, though this is doubtful. Kabir was brought up in a Muslim weaver's home in the Hindu holy city of Benares. Keay holds that while Kabir may not have been a Sufi himself, yet he held and taught many Sufi beliefs and practices.[41] It is said that at his death both Hindus and Muslims disputed as to the disposal of his body, but when a voice from heaven intervened, it was found that the body had disappeared and fresh flowers had been left in its place. Accordingly, in commemoration of Kabir there are at Maghar where he died a Hindu temple and a Muslim mosque side by side. Here is an example from Kabir quoted in the Granth (Macauliffe's translation) which has a Sufi flavour:

> I collected much molasses, and turned my body into firewood;
> Then wine trickled from the roof of the house of pleasure by means of the furnace of my heart.
> Describe him as intoxicated with the wine of divine love.
> Who drinketh the sweetness of God's name and meditateth on divine knowledge.
> Since the server of the wine of divine love met me and gave it to me,
> My days and nights are passing away intoxicated with pleasure.
> I carefully applied my thoughts to the Pure One, and then, saith Kabir, I obtained Him the Fearless.
>
> (Sri Rag XXVII).

Malcolm, in his *Sketch of the Sikhs* written about 1800 says concerning these two:

> He (Nanak) adopted more often to conciliate them (Mohammadans) many of the maxims he had learnt from mendicants who professed the principles of the Sufi sect; and he constantly referred to the admired writings of the celebrated Muhammadan Kabir who was a professed Sufi.

and who inculcated the doctrine of the equality of the relation of all created beings to their creator.

Gen. Malcolm refers to the first guru as "Nanac Shah," and we are told that the first gurus dressed like faqirs. The *Dabistan* (Vol. II 247 ff.) attributes Nanak's conversion and entrance upon his mission to a dervish:

> A durvish came to Nanac and subdued his mind in such a manner that he, Nanac, having entered the granary, gave away the property of Daulet Khan, and his own, whatever he found there and in his house, and abandoned his wife and children. Daulet Khan was struck with astonishment at hearing this, but, recognizing in Nanac the mark of a durvish, he withheld his hand from hurting him.

Macauliffe, representing the orthodox Sikh point of view, would seem to agree when he quotes the governor in this incident as saying, "Nanak, it is my misfortune that such an officer as thou shouldst have become a faqir."

The following extracts are to the same effect:

> When Nanak returned from his travels he cast off the garments of a Faqir, but he continued to give instructions to his now numerous disciples. . . . Nanak is said to have proceeded to Multan where he communed with the Pirs or Muhammadan saints of the country. . . . Nanak is generally termed by Muhammadan historians Nanak Shah, to denote his having been a Faqir.[42]

In this same early work, Nanak is said to have appointed Angad as his successor and clothed him "in the holy mantle of a Faqir."

Nanak sometimes arrayed himself symbolically in a motley of Hindu and Mohammadan garments in order to signify the synthesis of the two faiths he aimed at. On the occasion of a trip to Brindaban he is described wearing the saffron jacket of a sadhu, the woollen shirt of a faqir, and the hat of a Qalandar dervish.

It seems evident, then, that all through his life Nanak had frequent contacts with faqirs, indeed, he seems half faqir himself. At least three visits to Sheikh Brahm, the famous Sufi

of Pakpattan in the Western Punjab, are mentioned by Macauliffe; and in the Granth over one hundred of the verses contributed by the Sheikh are preserved. Some of these are commented on by the gurus, like the following:

Guru Arjan:

> Farid, the heart is dyed with the world, though the world be worthless;
> To be like faqirs is difficult; their excellence can only be obtained by perfect acts.

Farid proceeds:

> Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom, in the end of the night the fruit;
> They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord.

Guru Nanak objects, and fatalistically observes:

> Gifts are the Lord's; what can prevail against Him?
> Some who are awake receive them not; others who ar asleep He awaketh and conferreth presents upon.

Farid goes on to say:

> Farid, to be a derwesh at God's gate is difficult; my love for God is only on the surface.
> Few there are who walk in the way of the darweshes at God's gate.
> My body is heated like an oven; my bones burn like firewood;
> Were my feet to tire, I would walk on my head to meet the Beloved.

Nanak here offers the following advice:

> Heat not thy body like an oven, burn not thy bones like firewood;
> What harm have thy head and feet done thee? Behold the Beloved within thee.

(Sloks of Sheikh Farid, Macauliffe's translation)

At Guru Nanak's death we find a tradition similar to that of Kabir's death, in the claims of both Hindus and Muslims either to burn or to bury the body, which disappears. The significance of the tradition is obvious.

The following hymn of Nanak's has a Sufi flavour:

The Giver gave man a pill of intoxicant illusion.
In his intoxication he forgot death and enjoyed pleasure for four days.
The Sufis obtained truth to keep them in God's court.
Nanak, know the True One alone as true.
By serving Him man obtaineth happiness and proceedeth with honour to His court.
The true wine is that which containeth the true Name; it is prepared without molasses.
I am a sacrifice unto those who hear and explain this.
Man is known as properly intoxicated when he obtaineth a place in God's court.

(Sri Rag, based on Macauliffe's translation)

A writer on Sufism in *The Cultural Heritage of India* observes that Guru Arjan is considered a Sufi by Sufis since, for one thing, he describes God as the Causer of everything, in the Sukhmani (*ashtapadi* II) beginning—

The Cause of causes is one God, there is none other,
What pleaseth Him shall come to pass.
He created, He beholdeth His own greatness;
Nanak, God is contained in all things.
The Searcher of hearts sporteth and is pleased.
He causeth man to do as He wisheth.
Nanak, there is nothing seen but Him.

The same writer alludes to Arjan's teaching on the value of the company of the saints in the Sukhmani as comparable to Sufi emphasis on the *Murshid* and *Talib*. Here are some of the eighty verses of the Seventh Section of the Sukhmani which are on this theme:

By association with saints the face becometh bright,
By association with saints all filth is removed,
By association with saints pride is effaced,
By association with saints divine knowledge is revealed,
By association with saints God is known to be near,
By association with saints the jewel of the Name is obtained,
By association with saints man knoweth the Supreme Joy,

By association with saints hell is avoided,
By association with saints I have been saved.

The greatness of God is an ever-recurring refrain in Nanak's well-known *Japji* (*jap* equals *dhikr*), and one that has more of a Semetic than Hindu sound, as:

XXIV

Great is the Lord, and exalted His seat.
His exalted Name is higher than the most exalted.
Were anyone else ever so exalted,
Then he would know that exalted Being:
How great He is He knoweth Himself.
Nanak, God bestoweth gifts on whom He looketh with favour and mercy. (Macauliffe)

Some of the figures used in the *Masnawi* of Rumi are familiar to readers of the Granth, such as: the Name of God and the value of its repetition; the scent of the musk deer; sacrifice for God; God as the Beloved with his devotees as the lovers (these are masculine in the *Masnawi*, feminine in the Granth); the fish gasping without water; light; the purifying power of love; predestination; spiritous as a figure for spiritual intoxication; and the verse from the Quran XVIII: 109 as used both by Kabir and the tenth guru:

Were I to make all the islands my paper, and the seven seas my ink;
Were I to cut down all trees, and turn them into pens for writing;
Were I to make Saraswati dictate for millions of ages; were I to write with the hand of Ganesh,
O Thou who holdest the destroying sword, I could not please Thee even a little without offering Thee homage.[43]

In the Dasam Granth each of the eleven Persian Stories opens with praises to God and ends with a command to the cup-bearer to bring a cup of wine, usually green wine. This is probably a play on the Name of Hari, which also may

mean "green." With these artistically-styled poems, with their Sufi flavouring, the Granth of the tenth guru ends.

We may conclude, then, that although the foundation of Sikhism is Hindu, in that it everywhere assumes *karma* and transmigration and accepts the Hindu pantheon; yet the superstructure is pervaded with Sufi materials, which blend, on the whole, harmoniously with those of Hindu mysticism of the *bhakti* type.

CHAPTER TEN

The Sikh Orders

Kahn Singh's Encyclopedia (Mahan Kosh) recognizes three main divisions of Sikhs:

1. Udasis (*see* below).
2. Sahajdharis, or slow-adopters (easy-goers). These are Sikhs who do not keep their hair uncut or wear the special signs of the Singhs.
3. Singhs, or keshadharis (hair-wearers), who also have been baptized as Singhs and who wear all five signs. Among the Singhs are included Nihangs, Nirmalas, and Kukas or Namdhari. These will be described **later.**

We may classify these as orders since they differ mainly in their functions and practices rather than in their fundamental beliefs. All have the Ad Granth as their Scripture and acknowledge the ten gurus.

Heretical groups, according to the Sikh Book of Worship and Discipline, with whom good Sikhs are not to associate religiously, are:

1. Minas. These are the followers of Prithia, the deceitful elder brother of Guru Arjan, and the guru's bitter enemy, since the younger brother had succeeded to the guruship rather than he. "Mina" is a term of contempt.
2. Masands. These were at first zealous missionaries of the Sikh faith, but the order was abolished by Guru Gobind Singh when they became corrupt extortioners of offerings from the faithful.
3. Dhirmalias were followers of Dhir Mal, elder brother of Guru Har Rai, who plotted against his brother and later tried to kill Guru Teg Bahadur.
4. Ramraiyas, not regarded as Sikhs since they were excommunicated by Guru Har Rai.

The Minas, Masands, and Dhirmalias no longer exist as separate groups, but after three or four generations they were absorbed in the Sikh community. The Ramraiyas have been noted. The orders that are active today will now be briefly described.

Nihangs

These stalwarts are easily recognized, as they wear dark blue robes with their legs bare below the knees, high blue and yellow turbans laced with steel discs, and usually carry spears, swords, daggers, and shields. They are not to smoke or drink liquor, but many use *bhang* (hemp) freely.

The Nihangs arose as a militant order in the time of Guru Gobind Singh under the leadership of Bhai Mán Singh in 1704-05. Also called Akalis, they form the aggressive, not to say fanatical, core of the Khalsa Brotherhood. They wear dark blue in memory of Guru Gobind Singh's escape from the Muslim army at Macchiwara disguised as "Uch ka Pir" by wearing the blue garments of a Muslim faqir.

The Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature says that the Nihang-singhs, abandoning the fear of death, are ever ready for martyrdom and remain unsullied by worldly possessions for which reason they are so named. A Nihang is one who has nothing and is free from anxiety.

Macauliffe quotes a saying of theirs:

> I am the wrestler of the Lord,
> Having met the Guru, I put on a tall turban.

Note : Victorious wrestlers in former times were decorated with lofty turbans. The Nihangs, a small sect of Sikhs, quote this line in justification of their tall head-dress.

(The Sikhs, III, p. 110, note)

Nirmalas

Quite in contrast to the activist Nihangs are the quietist Nirmala sadhus. Nirmala means untainted, pure, and this would seem to be their ideal.

The Nirmalas sometimes wear white robes, but usually saffron or ochre-coloured ones like Hindu sadhus. However, they wear the long hair and other signs of the Singhs, and are classed as such.

The five original members of this order were sent to Benares by Guru Gobind Singh to study Sanskrit and Hindu theology. They are a learned order with proficiency in the Vedanta. They do not work at any trade or business, but preach and expound the Granth. Their monasteries, or *dehras* are called "Akharas" or wrestling arenas, even though they are celibate ascetics. They live by rather elaborate rules and regulations, as, for instance, eating apart by themselves food usually given by Singhs. Archer remarks, "They emphasized *as a group* the virtue of personal purity, but without recourse to physical disfigurement."

One cannot help but admire the farsightedness and wide range of interests of the tenth guru in sponsoring the rise of two such widely different orders as the Nihangs and the Nirmalas; yet for the all-round development of the Khalsa each was needed to balance and supplement the other.

Udasis

The Udasi Order of sadhus was founded by Sri Chand, the ascetic elder son of Guru Nanak who was considered by his father to be unworthy of the guruship. The Udasis are sadhus, and wear yellow-coloured clothes (when they wear any); they carry a gourd begging bowl, and are to avoid gold and women.

These Udasis have been zealous preachers of Sikhism, and took over the missionary work of the Masands when they were discredited; in fact, the saint Baba Gurditta, son of Guru Hargobind, was the "adopted son" or protege of Sri Chand. As the Udasis did not wear the signs of the Singhs, the Muslims did not persecute them, and they often became the custodians of the Sikh temples. "It may be said to their credit that in the darkest days of Sikh history . . . these selfless monks kept the torch of Sikhism burning."*

* *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 113.

At first the Udasis wore long hair and beards, but now many are shaven, or wear the matted hair of Hindu sadhus and smear their bodies with ashes. Some wear the yellow clothes, the *tilak,* the rosary and the sacred thread of the Hindus, and sometimes even practise idolatry. Yet, after all, they are descended from Guru Nanak, acknowledge the Ad Granth as their Book, and have an honourable record of service to the Sikhs, and so would seem to belong in the main to the brotherhood of Sikhs.

Namdhari Singhs or Kukas

The Namdharis wear a high white turban, white robe, white woollen necklace, and keep the five k's (*kes,* or uncut hair; *kanga,* or comb; *kara,* or iron bracelet; *kirpan,* dagger; and *kachch,* or shorts). Their centre is the village Bhaini, near Ludhiana. They are also called Kukas (Crowers) from their habit of emitting piercing shrieks when excited.

The Namdharis have been active in opposing such Hindu practices as idolatry and asceticism. They marry, but oppose dowries and expensive weddings, and use the Sikh Anand marriage ceremony. They have been very zealous against cow slaughter; and in 1872 sixty-five Kukas were blown from guns and many hanged by British district officers for killing butchers in Amritsar, Malaud, and Malerkotla.

They differ from the Singhs mainly in that they have a succession of living gurus of their own from the days of Bhagat Jawahar Mal (died 1862) and Balak Singh, who was succeeded by Ram Singh of Bhaini (1815-1885). After the Partition a large number of displaced Namdharis settled at Sirsa in the Hissar district.

Nirankaris

Brief mention must be made of another reform movement similar in many ways to that of the Namdharis, that of the Nirankaris, worshippers of the Formless One. The originator

of the Nirankari movement was Dayal Das, 1783-1855. Like the Namdharis, they had a succession of their own gurus; and like them, they opposed all Hindu practice. They were active in the Northwest Frontier Province, Rawalpindi district, and Kashmir. Since Partition, some of their leaders are active in Chandigarh where they are building a central gurdwara; and another branch is active in Delhi.*

The Akalis

These "immortals" seem to be a modern blend of the Nihangs; indeed, the two names are often used interchangeably. The Akalis do not form an order of the Singhs; but the modern Akali movement seems to have arisen after the First World War in connection with the purification and control of the Sikh shrines, many of which had got into the hands of unscrupulous Mahants. The Akalis became anti-Government because the British Government backed the Mahants in control of the shrines. Since then they have taken part in various movements for religious and political reform. The Akali Dal is a volunteer corps of the Akalis. The word Akali has now lost much of its original significance and is applied to a political party. When not united in a common cause they are quite likely to wrangle among themselves for power.

They have no special distinguishing garb other than that of Singhs, but often do wear black or dark blue turbans.

* *In Punjab 1849-1960, Nirankari Sampardai,* by Ganda Singh, pp. 90-92.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

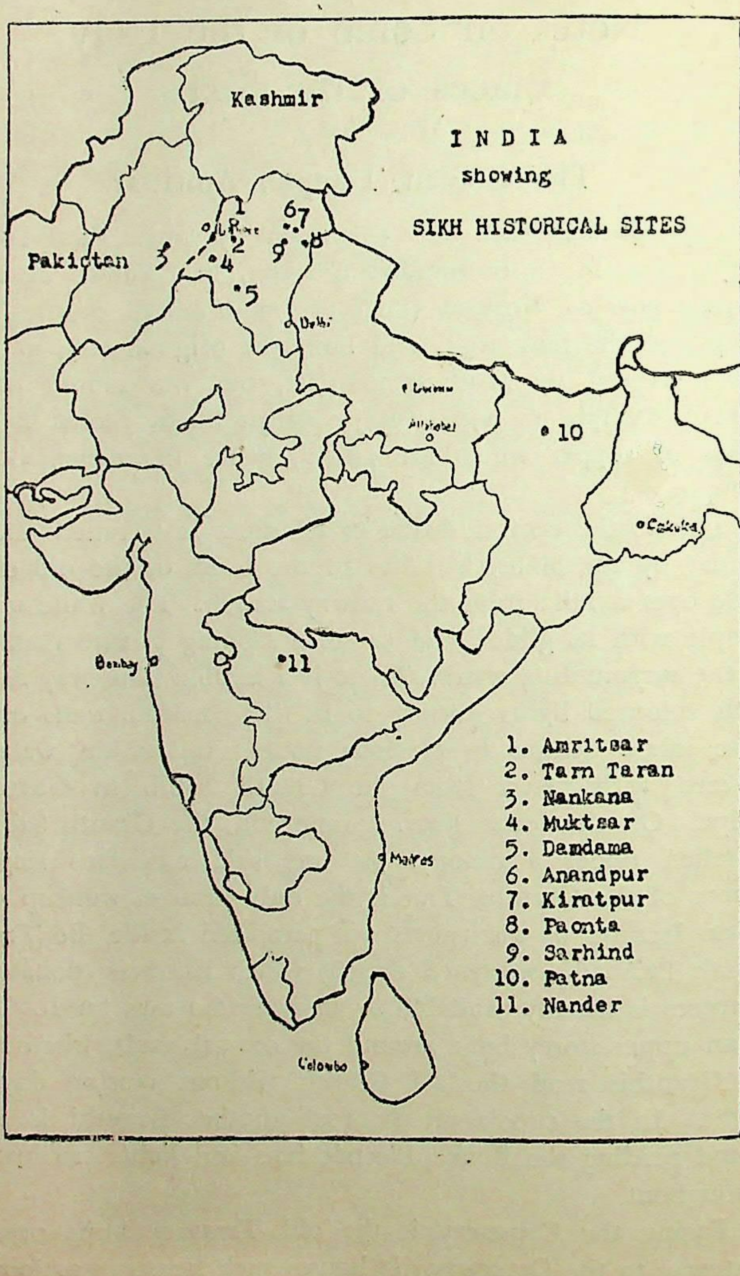
Notes on Some of the Holy Places of the Sikhs

The Golden Temple, Amritsar

The spacious tank was excavated by Guru Ram Das in 1577 A.D. He also founded the city, first known as Ramdaspur, now as Amritsar (Pool of Immortality). Guru Arjan completed the tank walls and built the original temple. This was destroyed by Muslims in 1762, but was rebuilt as the present Temple in 1764. Raja Ranjit Singh roofed it with sheets of copper which are gilded, hence the name, Golden Temple.

This is the central shrine of Sikhism. It is called "Darbār Sāhib" by the Sikhs, and lies in the heart of the old city a little over a mile from the railway station. The white marble temple with its gilded roof makes a striking picture rising out of the surrounding water. There is a marble Causeway flanked with coloured lights leading to it. The marble walls outside have inlaid designs in precious stones. Inside, the walls are covered with verses from the Granth Sahib in Gurmukhi script. On the lower floor, at one end, the Granth Sahib is installed under a canopy. At one side musicians sing the hymns of the Granth. This is the only form of worship there, as no lectures or discussions are permitted inside the Temple. Karah Parshad (sweetened dough) which has been donated by devotees is usually available to anyone who asks for it. There is an upper storey built around the central vault, where relays of Granthis read the Ad Granth without ceasing day and night. In the cupola on the roof another Granthi is to be found reading the Book. Electric fans and lights are installed throughout.

Facing the Causeway is the old Treasury built over the Gateway to the Causeway. It houses such treasures as four sets of gold doors to replace the ordinary silver doors of the


Kashmir
INDIA
showing
SIKH HISTORICAL SITES
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Delhi
Bombay
Madras
Colombo
1. Amritsar
2. Tarn Taran
3. Nankana
4. Muktsar
5. Damdama
6. Anandpur
7. Kiratpur
8. Paonta
9. Sarhind
10. Patna
11. Nander

Darbār Sāhib on special occasions; jewelled umbrellas; the golden spades used to dig the tank; various articles of jewellery and jewelled weapons; a jewelled canopy. Special arrangements must be made to see the Treasury, as four different members of the managing committee must be present with their keys to open it.

Nearby is the Akal Takht, built by Guru Hargobind, a very old audience hall and gurdwara facing the Causeway. This is a preaching centre, and also the seat of political and religious conferences, and the Sikh Panth meets there to pass *gurmattas*. Weapons of the last five gurus are kept there.

Baba Atal, a several storeyed tower is adjoining, built in memory of one of Guru Hargobind's sons who died in boyhood. A fine tank, Kaulsar, extends from it. There is a sarai, or travellers' hospice nearby, and also a *langar* or kitchen and refectory where free meals are served daily and all sit down without distinction of caste or creed. A visit to the kitchen where a dozen or more volunteer women are making *chapattis*, and men are baking them on a huge iron plate is most interesting. The walk around the main tank is paved with marble squares on many of which the names of the donors are written, a goodly number of them women. Occasionally some of the huge fish that inhabit the tanks can be seen.

A brick verandah with shelters for pilgrims and with large entrance towers on either side have recently been completed. To do this, many of the old dwellings around the shrine have been purchased and demolished. The museum is fairly new, and contains relics and vivid paintings from Sikh history.

There is an atmosphere of openness and freedom about the temple precincts that appeals to visitors. All are welcome, if only they remove their footwear and keep their heads covered, and do not carry tobacco on their persons. There is a room for tourists in the entrance building, and guides will accompany them free of charge. Here is an extract from the guide book for visitors issued by the Manager, Darbār Sāhib:

Some Do's and Don'ts—

(1) Don't take with you tobacco or wine or any article containing these things.

(2) Do remove your shoes and socks, before you enter the sacred precincts.

(3) You may, if you like, put on brand-new socks, or those furnished free by the Tourist Office.

(4) If your feet are bare, do wash them at the place meant for that purpose. It will be shown to you.

(5) Do cover your head and keep it covered all the time.

(6) Don't take with you sticks or umbrellas.

You may photograph inside the precincts or in the *langar*, but not inside the Golden Temple itself. You will have to leave your cameras with the man on duty at the entrance to the Causeway.

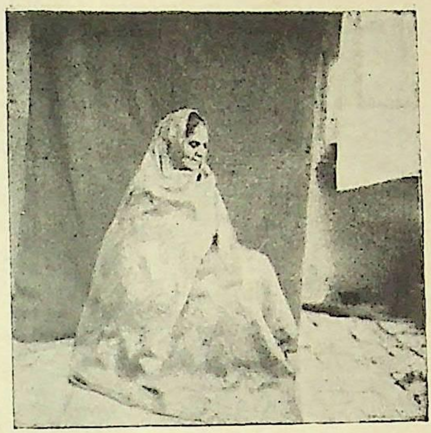
Anandpur

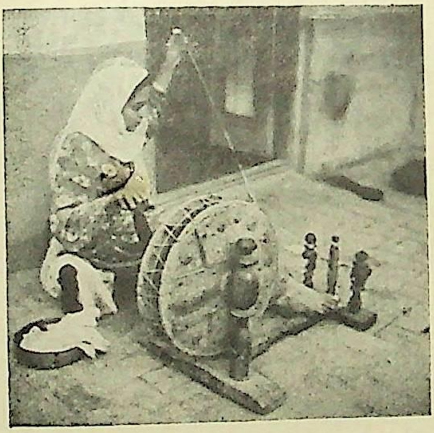
This is the valley fortress of Gobind Singh. It lies at the foot of the Himalayas, in the valley formed by the Sutlej River between the Siwalik and the Himalaya Mountains. The main shrine is the comparatively new Kesgarh, where Gobind Singh instituted the Khalsa with its five signs. The shrine is lighted up at night with electricity. Many weapons are on display there from the time of the guru. The fort has a Baoli, or well, with 105 steps leading down to it. The Sisganj Shrine is the cremation place of Guru Teg Bahadur's head after his martyrdom in Delhi. Guru Gobind's residence is also seen. The Lohgarh Fort is over toward the river, in the care of Akalis. Naina Devi mountain with the temple on top where Gobind Singh went to confront the goddess is plainly visible a few miles off.

Kartarpur

It is situated nine miles north of Jullundur on the Grand Trunk Road and is known as Guru Arjan's city. The fortress-palace is the most conspicuous building there. There is an old well in the courtyard with rooms down near water level reached by stairways. The Shish Mahal, or Looking-glass Palace, is a room in a tower at one end of the fort where the

GRANDMOTHER WEARING A PHULKARI

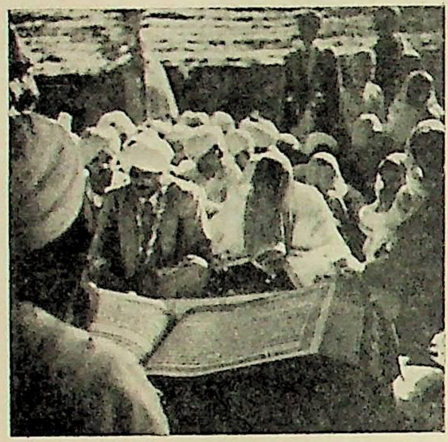




THE SPINNER

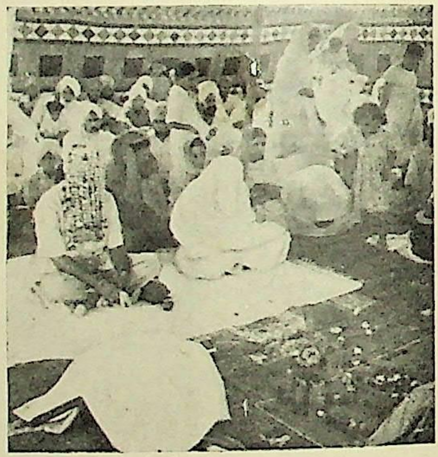
NIHANGS





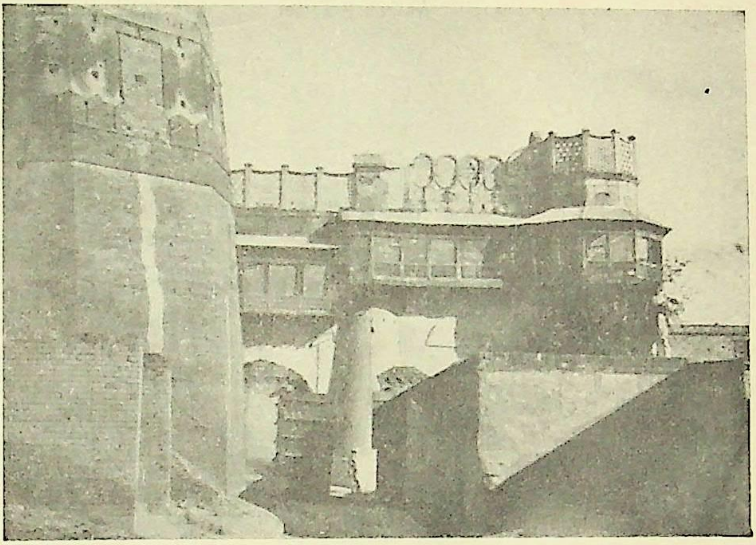
ANAND WEDDING CEREMONY

BRIDEGROOM AND BRIDE





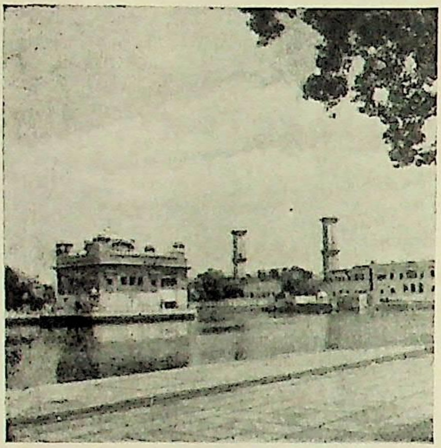
THE BRIDE



SHISH MAHAL, KARTARPUR, WHERE THE ORIGINAL GRANTH IS KEPT

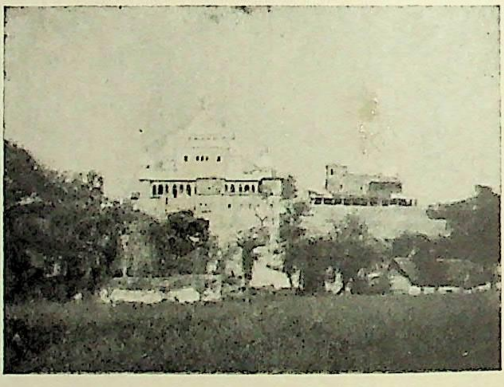


NANKANA, NOW IN PAKISTAN



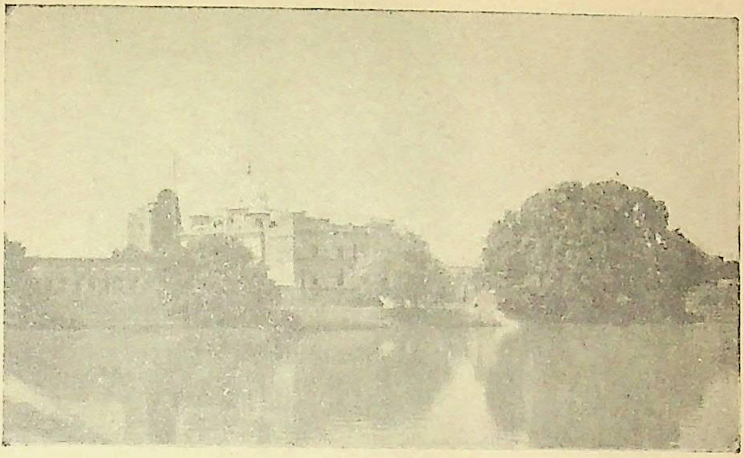
DARBAR SAHIB, AMRITSAR

KESGARH, ANANDPUR,
BIRTHPLACE OF
THE KHALSA

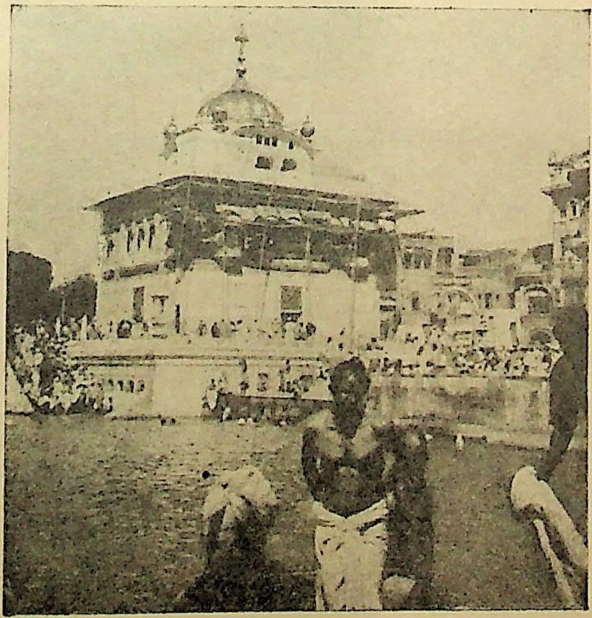




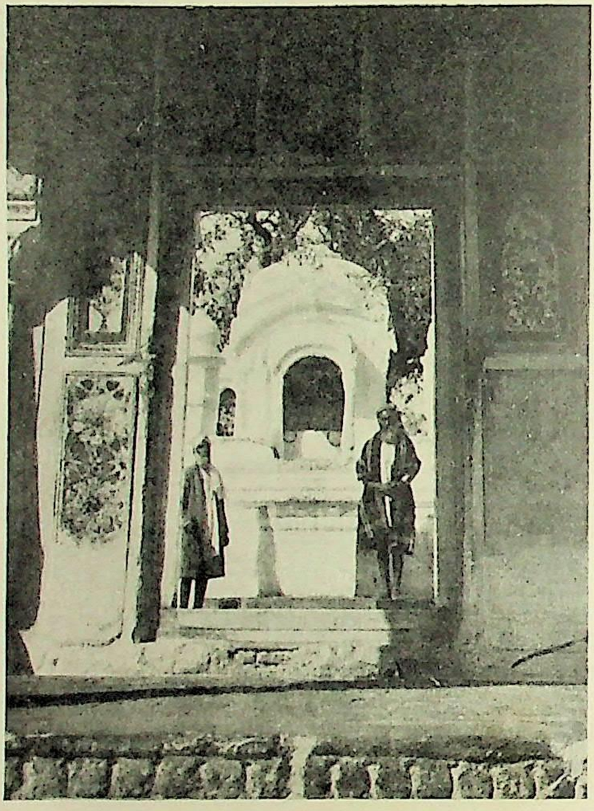
SIKH CARPENTERS MAKING
OX CART WHEELS



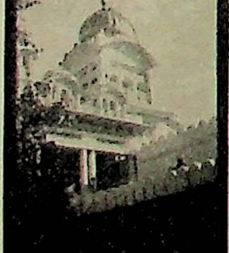
MUKTSAR GURDWARA



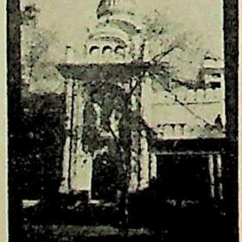
TARAN TĀRAN MELA



GURDITTA'S SHRINE, KIRATPUR

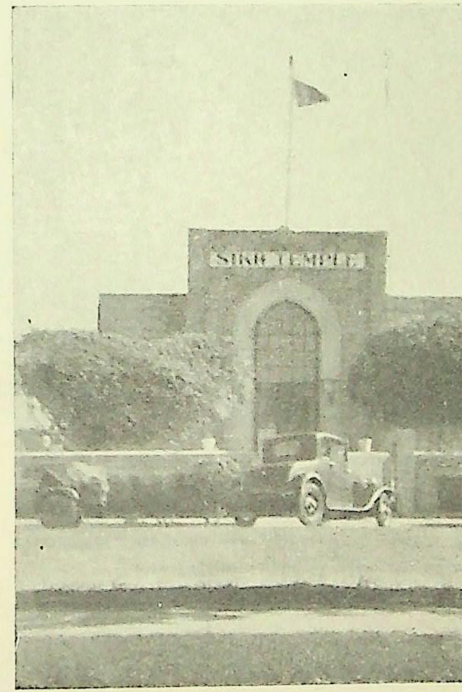


THE NEW SHRINE AT NANAKSAR, LUDHIANA DISTRICT





GURDWARA: SULTANPUR JULLUNDUR DISTRICT



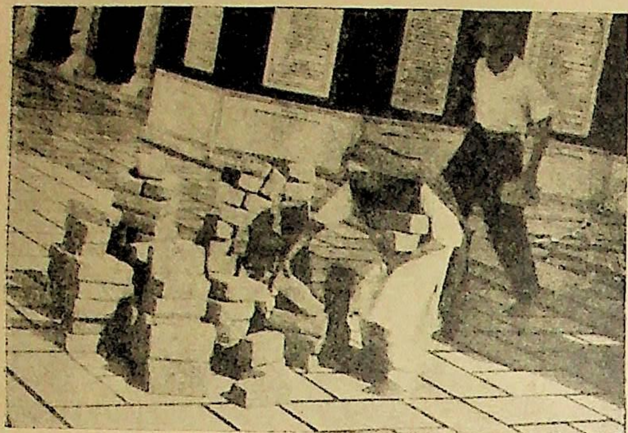
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA



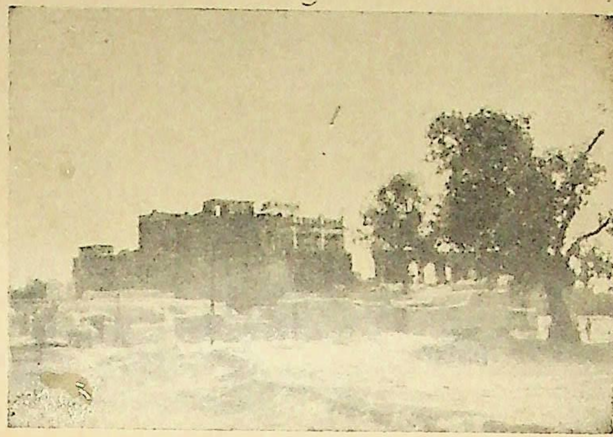
LEARNING SERVICE



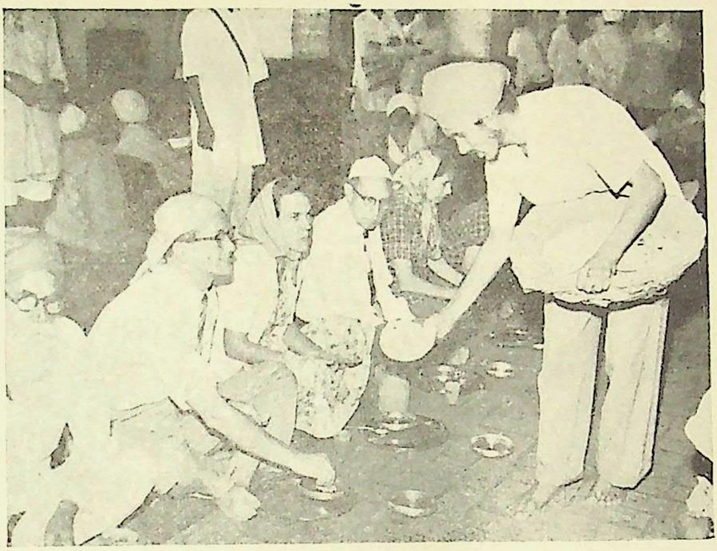
CARRYING BRICKS



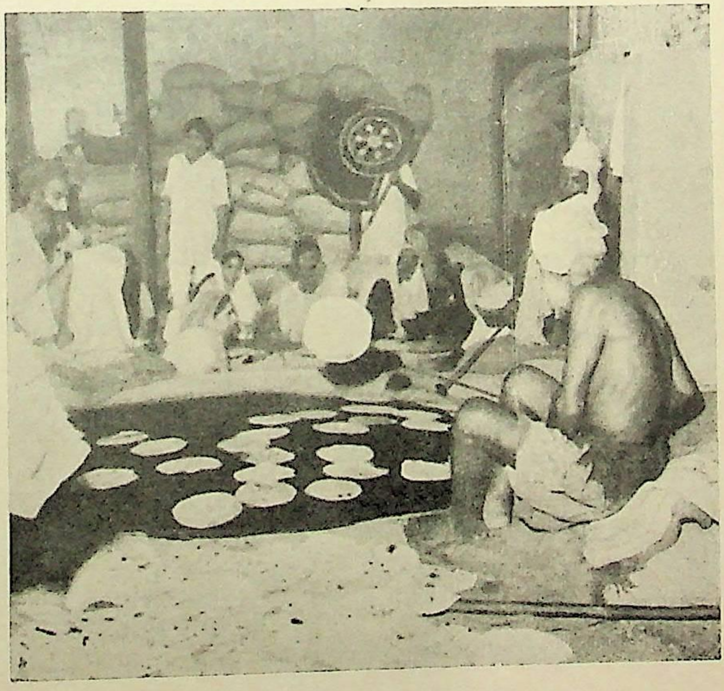
GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR



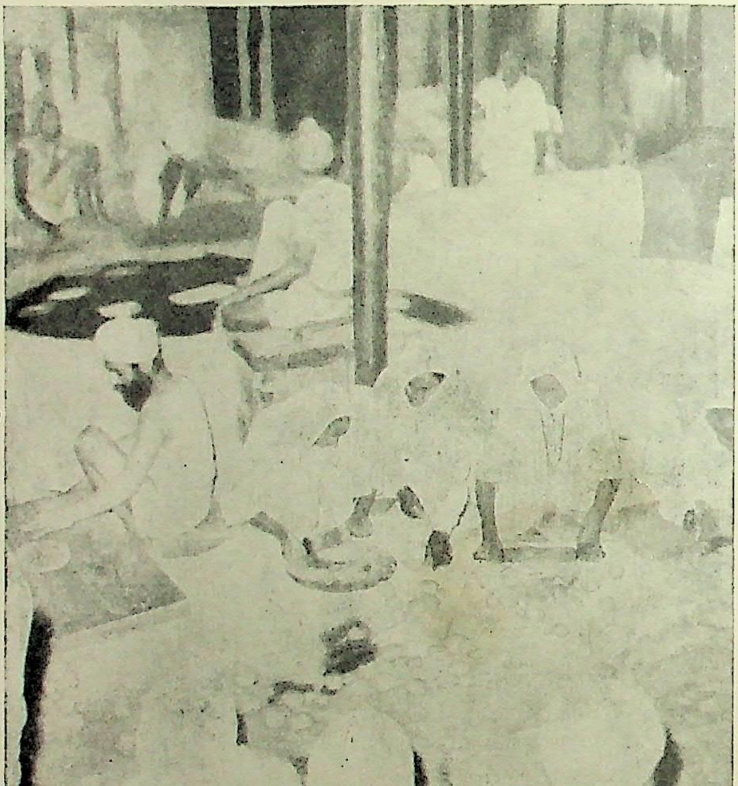
A VILLAGE-SARDAR'S PALACE NEAR GURDASPUR



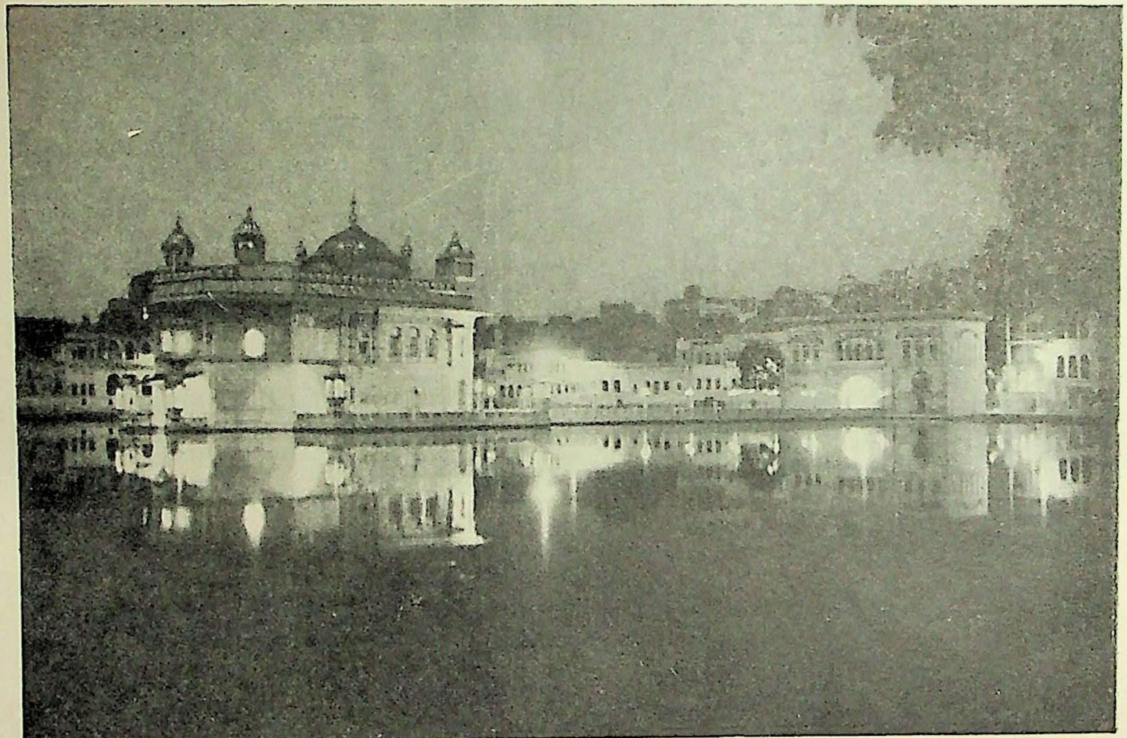
ALL EAT TOGETHER IN THE LANGAR



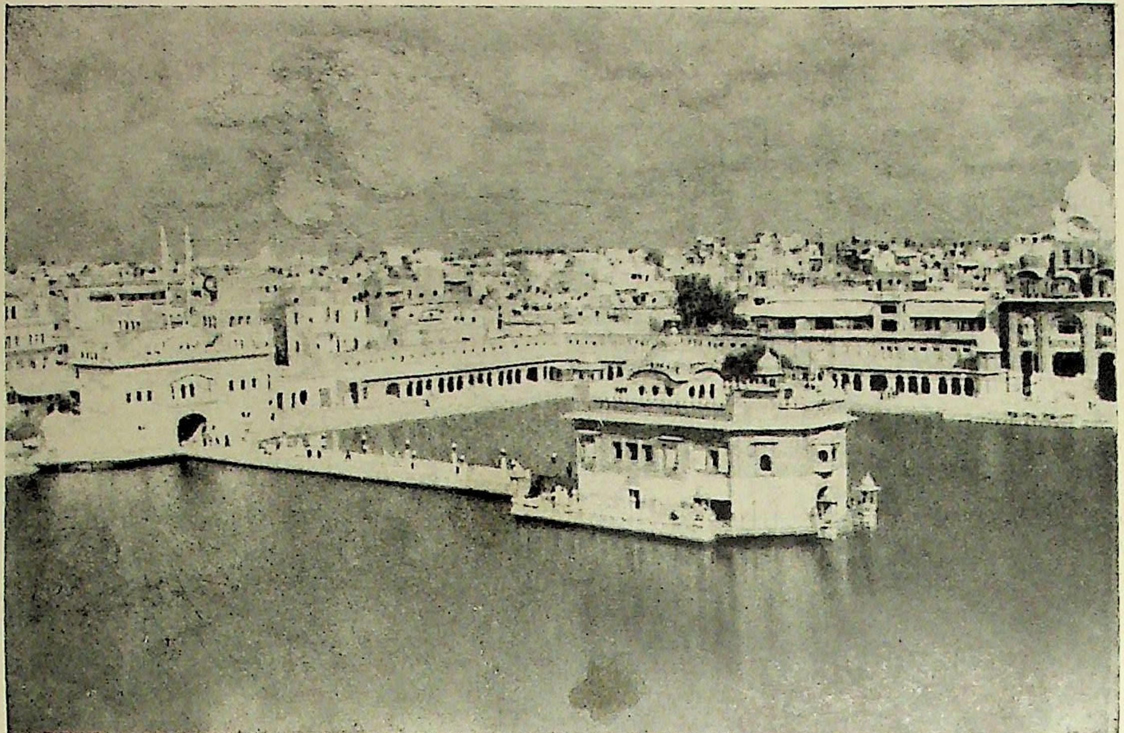
SERVICE IN THE LANGAR



VOLUNTEERS PREPARING CHAPATTIS IN THE LANGAR



GOLDEN TEMPLE AT NIGHT



THE TEMPLE IN ITS SETTING

copy of the original Granth is kept. Guru Har Gobind's swords are also shown there. The tower of the ancient gurdwara nearby is visible for many miles.

Kiratpur

It lies in the Sutlej valley seven miles east of Anandpur. It was founded by Gurditta, the son of Guru Har Gobind, as a refuge from Mohammadan oppression. Guru Gobind Singh lived there while building Anandpur. Gurditta's shrine is on a hill-top nearby, a very attractive and striking location. A small house is pointed out as the birthplace of Guru Har Rai. There is also a shrine at the place where Guru Nanak foretold the coming founding and greatness of the place. There is another gurdwara over near the river.

Muktsar

It lies about forty miles south of Ferozepore. It was originally called Khidrana. The present tank and temple commemorate a battle with the Mohammadans who were trying to capture Guru Gobind Singh after his flight from Chamkaur. The Sikhs were hard pressed but the Mohammadans were forced to withdraw for lack of water. In the battle the heroine Bhago distinguished herself. The guru ordered a mela to be held the first of Magh, the anniversary of the battle.

The old gurdwara is in the midst of the city. There are extensive marble promenades around a large tank, with the main gurdwara offices and a Bell Tower at the North end. At the opposite end is the Tambu Gurdwara. There is also a *langar* or refectory serving free meals.

About two miles away, to the north-west of the city, the gurdwara "Tibbi Sahib" can be seen. There are two newly built gurdwaras, one "Dātan Sahib" where the tenth guru threw away his tooth-brush twig, and "Rakāb Sahib," where his stirrup broke.

6

Nanaksar

There is a new gurdwara near the Grand Trunk Road running from Ferozepore to Ludhiana about four miles west of Jagraon in Ludhiana district. The white tower surmounted by a gold dome is visible above the trees for miles. In the foreground of the gurdwara precincts is a concrete and marble bathing tank over 200 feet square. The white building of the main gurdwara is paved with white and coloured marble and is of imposing proportions. There are subterranean rooms and shrines under the main building, and a space has been left for installing a lift from the basement to the tower. The doors of teak and shisham wood are beautifully carved. A fine view of the surrounding countryside is had from the tower which is perhaps eighty feet high. The gurdwara was founded by Ramgarhia (carpenter) Sikhs and is independent of the central Shiromani Parbandhak Committee's control.

Nankana Sahib

In Pakistan fifty-five miles west of Lahore, is the site of Nanak's birth and boyhood. There are gurdwaras everywhere, commemorating nearly every event in Nanak's life. There is the Janam-Asthan, or Birthplace Gurdwara; the Akal Bunga; and the Mal Sahib, where the serpent overshadowed the sleeping boy; as well as many others, such as those commemorating the place where Nanak went to school, where the animals ruined the field while he slept instead of herding them, and so on. In a room below ground at the Janam-Asthan are shown the bones of the martyrs killed in the struggle for the possession of the gurdwara in 1921.

Patna

Patna City lies for several miles along the Ganges in Bihar. The shrine, or Takht there, lies at the eastern edge of the city and is the birthplace of Guru Gobind Singh. It has been extensively remodelled. A cloth market adjacent to it has been built, where some Sikhs find employment, and the

revenue from which goes for the upkeep of the shrine. This is one of the four Takhts, or Thrones of Sikhism.

Sultanpur

This lies twenty-five miles south of Jullundur, and is where Guru Nanak ran the granary for the Lodi rulers, and where he received his call to the guruship. A fine new white marble gurdwara has been built with the help of the Maharaja of Kapurthala on the little Bein River where Guru Nanak used to meditate. It is called the Ber Sahib, because of the small Ber tree out in front, enclosed now in a marble railing, beneath which Nanak used to sit.

Tarān Tāran

The town lies fifteen miles south of Amritsar. It was founded by Guru Arjan, who made the tank even larger than the one at Amritsar. Later Raja Ranjit Singh built a minaret at one corner. Like Muktsar, the white marble gurdwara rises at the end of the sacred tank.

A mela (religious fair) is held every month at the time of the new moon, the Massia Mela, to which thousands of Sikhs, men, women, and children pour in from the surrounding districts.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Translations

At the very beginning of the Ad Granth stands the *mul mantra* or root verse which is said to contain the essence of Sikhism:

> One God (OM) Whose Name is Truth, Creator, without fear, without enmity, immortal, free from transmigration, self-existing; by the Guru's grace.

Then follows the Japji, or Meditation, of Guru Nanak. It is written in rhymed verse but is not set to a *rag* or tune like the rest of the Granth. It covers several pages in the Gurmukhi, but every good Sikh should have it by heart. The opening verses are as follows:

Meditation

In the beginning was the True One, in the early age was the True One.
The True One is, and will be forever, Nanak says.
By thinking He comes not in the understanding,
Even if thought of a hundred thousand times,
By keeping silent He comes not in the silence,
Even if concentration is unbroken.
The hunger of the hungry is not assuaged
Even though he conquers the worlds.
Hundreds of thousands of schemes may be made,
But not one goes along (to God).
How can we find truth, how can the wall of falsehood be broken down?
By walking according to the will of the Creator,
As preordained for us, says Nanak.
By His will forms exist, yet His will cannot be explained,
By His will living creatures exist, by His will they obtain greatness;

By His will come exaltation and debasement,
By His written order pain and pleasure are obtained.
By His will some obtain favour,
By His will others wander forever (in rebirths);
Within His will are all, none is outside His will.
Nanak says, if anyone discerns His will
He will never even mention his own pride.

(Japji, vs. 1, 2)

Make self-restraint the workshop; patience, the goldsmith;
Reason, the anvil; wisdom, the hammer;
Fear, the bellows; the fire, austerities;
The crucible, love, in which the nectar melts;
In this true mint the message is coined.
This is the practice of those on whom His glance rests;
Nanak says, In the glance of the Bountiful is bliss.

(Japji v. 38)

The following verses from the Sukhmani (Peace of Mind) of Guru Arjan may be taken as typical of the spirit of the Ad Granth:

The occupation of devotees is with the Name,
To the heart of the saints it gives rest.
Hari's Name is the shelter of his servants,
By Hari's Name millions have been saved.
Saints utter the praise of Hari day and night,
The pious use Hari's Name as medicine.
The Harijan has the treasure of Hari's Name.
The Supreme Brahma gave this gift to man.
Those whose souls and bodies are dyed in the colour of the One,
Nanak, their minds have discernment.

(Sukhmani 2 : 5)

The Twelve Months by Guru Nanak

Tukhari Chhant

The changing seasons are the setting for picturing the vicissitudes of the soul's search for God. The gurus conceive the soul as the wife seeking the bridegroom Hari. Guru Nanak, Guru Arjan, and Guru Gobind Singh each thus go through the twelve months in poetic imagery, yet the presentation of each is different. Guru Nanak's is close to nature and abounds in pithy earthy metaphors, Guru Arjan emphasizes the mystical aspects of nature; Guru Gobind Singh's approach is that of the warrior and administrator; while the unknown writer Shyam in the Tenth Granth stresses the sensuous. These allegorical poems are among the most attractive hymns of the Granths. Guru Nanak's Twelve Months are given here. One can feel the new life spring brings with its blossoms and verdure; the scorching heat of summer when the woman seeks the sheltering shade of the Nam; how even the refreshing monsoon rains when the season of merry-making has come bring but terror to her, separated from her husband and she sees only the flashing lightning and the venomous snakes, when even the love call of the cuckoo seems a mockery. This pain of separation is, however, more than offset by the hope of reunion and the joy of reunion itself. Though the seeker may have gone astray in the bloom of youth, there is hope that even when the hair whitens with the age like the Kukah reeds, the Lord by His grace may grant reunion, even as "The fruit that ripens slowly is sweet." In the turmoil of life there is always the hope that even as the moon shines forth amid the dark thunder clouds the light of love may show the way to the Beloved, there to dwell in bliss forever.

INTRODUCTION

O hear Thou! The result of deeds done formerly,
The pain or pleasure Thou givest to each person is just.

O Hari, the creation is Thine.
What is my condition? Without Thee I cannot live even for an hour,
Without the Beloved I am miserable, I have no helper;
Yet in the Guru's words I drink immortal nectar.
We are enmeshed in the Formless One's creation,
Yet with the Lord in my heart my deeds become meritorious.
Nanak says: The woman watches Thy path.
Hear Thou All-Pervading Spirit!
The cuckoo cries "Prio" (love), and the koel utters its sweet cry.
The wife enjoys all bliss when she is embraced;
So she who pleases her Lord and is embraced by Hari
Is indeed a happily married woman.
Controlling the nine sense centres, she reaches the highest abode, the dwelling of Murare,* even in her own home.
I am all Thine, Thou art my Beloved, night and day I enjoy bliss.
Nanak says: Then indeed the cuckoo cries "Prio, Prio,"
And the koel's song is charming.
Hear Thou, O Hari, steeped in delight, my own Beloved!
Thou pervadest my mind and body, I cannot forget Thee for an hour.
How can I forget Thee for even an hour?
I am a sacrifice, I live by singing Thy praises,
I have no one else; whose can I be?
Apart from Hari there is no resting place.
I have grasped Thy shelter, I dwell at Hari's feet,
So my body has become pure.
Nanak says: The far-sighted one finds peace;
In the Guru's word the heart finds consolation.
Nectar rains, its showers are refreshing;
When the Friend meets me my soul finds rest, and I establish love with Hari.
Hari enters the Temple when the Lord wills,
And the woman stands and sings his praises.

* Demon slayer.

In every home the husband enjoys his happy wife,—
Why am I forgotten by my Husband?
Lowering clouds have overcast the sky, it rains pleasantly,
And love brings comfort to my heart and body.
Nanak says: May He Who rains the nectar of the word
Graciously come to my home.

THE TWELVE MONTHS

—Gurū Nanak-Tukhari Chhant

March-April. Spring

In Chet spring is pleasant, and the bees are charming;
In the Bar* the woods are blossoming,—
If only my Beloved Husband would return home!
When the Beloved does not come home, how can the wife find peace?
For the throbbing pain of separation wastes away her body.
The koel sings sweetly in the mango tree,—
Then why should pain be borne in my body?
Bees hover about the flowering branches;
How can I live? O mother, this separation is death!
Nanak says: In Chet, lasting peace may be found
If the wife has her husband Hari in her home.

April-May. Late Spring

Vaisakh is pleasant and the branches of trees are clothed in leaves;
The wife in the doorway looks to see if Hari out of compassion is coming.
"Come home, O Beloved, the crossing is turbulent.
Without Thee my value is not half a kauri shell;
Yet who can tell my worth if I please Thee?
Show me a glimpse of Thyself, O Loved One!"
Yet I need not go far, for if I but believe, He is within me,
There I can recognize Hari's dwelling place.
Nanak says: In Vaisakh the Lord is found
When the mind is continually absorbed in His word.

* Area in Western Punjab.

May-June. The Hot Season Begins

The Month of Jeth is pleasant, then why forget the Beloved ?
The plains burn like a furnace, and the woman is making supplication.
She recalls his virtues; "If I recount his excellencies,
I shall be pleasing to the Lord."
In the true Palace dwells the Ascetic One;
If he allows me to come, I will come.
I am helpless and worthless without Hari.
How can I attain to the comfort of His palace ?
Nanak says: In Jeth the virtuous woman knows Him,
And becomes like Him by his grace.

June-July. The Hot Season

Asarh is good, even though the sun burns in the heavens
And the earth suffers pain, dries up, and burns in the fire.
In the fire moisture is dried up and we die in agony,
But the sun ceases not from his work.
His chariot circles, while the woman seeks for shade,
And in the woods grasshoppers chirp.
She who is loaded down with vice goes on to trouble ahead,
While she whom the True One upholds finds peace.
Nanak says: With the Lord to Whom I gave my heart
Are the issues of life and death.

July-August. The Monsoon Rains

In Sawan blossom forth, O my soul,
For the season of clouds and rain has come.
I love my Husband with soul and body,
But my Beloved has gone abroad.
Until my Beloved comes home I die sighing with anxiety;
For the flash of lightning terrifies me;
I am alone on my couch and am greatly distressed,
My pain is like dying, O mother.
Without Hari, tell me, how can there be sleep or hunger ?
Clothing brings no comfort to the body.
Nanak says: She is a happily married woman
Who is embraced by her Beloved Husband.

August-September. Ending of the Monsoon

In Bhadon she who wanders astray in the full bloom of
youth shall repent.
The ponds and meadows are filled with water,
It is the season of rain and merry-making.
It rains in the dark of night, but how can that young
woman find peace,
When frogs croak and peafowl cry, and the cuckoo cries,
"Prio, prio" (love, love)?
Yet serpents go about biting and mosquitoes sting.
The ponds are brim full, but how can we find peace
without Hari ?
O Nanak, I will go ask my Guru,
Then where the Lord is, straight there will I go.

September-October. Autumn

In Assu, come, O Beloved, Thy wife is pining away and
dying.
I shall find union, O Lord, when Thou grantest it,
For I have been led astray by other loves.
When I am ruined by false love, then I am cast off by the
Beloved,
While I ripen in age like white kukah reeds.
The heat has gone, the cold season approaches,
On seeing time passing my mind is uneasy;
But on all sides the trees are green and there is vendure,—
So perhaps "What ripens slowly is sweet."
O Nanak, in Assu I meet my Beloved
When the True Guru has become the Mediator.

October-November. Autumn Harvest

In Katik that destiny is reaped which it pleases the Lord
to grant.
That lamp burns steadily which is lit with divine
knowledge.
Love is the oil of that lamp, and so the wife unites with
her Beloved and thrills with ecstasy.
She whom sin has killed does not succeed in dying,

But she whom virtue has killed shall really die.*
He has granted His Name and devotion to those who stay in their own home.
Ever their hope is, O Nanak, "Meet us, open the door,—
Otherwise one hour is like six months."

November-December. Late Autumn

Maghar is a pleasant month if the virtues of Hari are enshrined in the heart.
The virtuous recalls his virtues, saying, "I love my faithful Beloved."
Constant, wise, understanding is the Creator, but the whole world is perishing.
Divine knowledge, meditation, and praise must fill the heart;
Then if the Lord wills, she is pleasing to Him.
The poet sings his songs and poems, and by hearing Ram's Name trouble flees away.
Nanak says: That wife is loved by her Husband
Who offers heartfelt devotion to Him.

December-January. Winter

In Poh frost forms and the moisture of forest and grass freezes up.
Why comest not Thou Who dwells in my heart, body, and mouth ?
The Life of the world thrills in my heart and body;
By the Guru's instruction I enjoy this bliss.
His Light is contained in every body born of eggs, wombs, sweat, and the soil.
Grant a sight of Thyself, O Compassionate, Beneficent Lord,
And grant me wisdom that I may attain to spiritual heights
Nanak says: She is steeped in the nectar of nectars,
And enjoys love with Hari.

* To transmigration

January-February. Ending of Winter. The True Pilgrimage

In Magh she becomes pure who knows that the place of pilgrimage is within her.
Then the Friend is effortlessly found, and by keeping His virtue in my heart I become one with Him.
Hearing the praise of the Beloved in my heart, O Beautiful Lord,
If I but please Thee I shall bathe in Thy holy lake.
I am immersed in the Ganges, the Jamuna at Tribeni, in the confluence of the Seven Seas;
There is alms-giving and worship when I know Parmeshwar, the same from age to age.
Nanak says: In Magh the supreme joy of repeating Hari's Name is like bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

February-March. Early Spring

In Phagun there will be happiness in the heart where love is treasured.
Day by day the joy of fulfilment comes to her who has effaced self.
Since it pleased Him I cast out lust from my heart.
O be merciful and come home!
I put on many garments, but without the Beloved I obtain no place in His dwelling.
But when the Beloved desired me, I was adorned with wreaths, necklaces, perfumes, silks and satins.
Nanak says: When the Guru feels the need of her
A woman finds her Husband in her own home.

Conclusion

The twelve months, the seasons, the phases of the moon,
The days, hours, minutes, and seconds are good
When the True One comes and grants lasting union.
When the Beloved Lord is found, all deeds are accomplished,
For the Creator knows all methods.
She whom He has adorned is beloved and she enjoys the rapture of union.

In my home my couch is pleasant when the Beloved
enjoys me,
By the Guru's grace this good fortune is written on my
forehead,
Nanak says: The Beloved delights in me day and night.
With Hari as my Husband I am happily married forever.

From Guru Arjan's Twelve Months: February-March. *(Manjh)*

In Phagan, they enjoy happiness to whom Hari has
revealed himself,
Ram's saints have graciously helped me find union with
him.
My couch is beautiful, all is joy, and there is no place
for sorrows.
My desire is fulfilled, and I, fortunate one, have gotten
Raja Hari as my husband.
With my companions I sing for joy and compose hymns
to Govind.
No one else like Hari can be seen, no other is His equal.
He has prepared this world and the next for me and
given me a stable position.
He has rescued me from the ocean of the world, and I
will no longer wander in births.
My tongue is only one, but many are thy virtues,
Nanak says, I fall at thy feet.
In Phagan we should always praise him who has not a
speck of greed.

August-September, Guru Gobind Singh. *(Vichitar Natak)*

In the fourteen worlds thy discus roves and thy command-
ment goes,
With which thou emptiest the full, and fillest the empty.
Among all the living creatures in the ocean or on the land,
Which one is there who can turn aside thy order?
As in the month of Bhadon the black (cloud) looks
beautiful,
So thy dark body shines,

The row of thy teeth flashes like lightning; the sound of thy bells, large and small, is like the crash of thunder.

November-December. The Poet Shyam. *(Krishan Autar)*

In Magghar we sported with Syam (Krishna) and our hearts found joy.

When we became cold, then, in order to dispel it, we clung to Syam, limb to limb.

Where the chambeli flowers were blossoming, and the water of Jamuna rippled along.

At that time the season brought happiness, but now this season has brought pain.

(The Lament of the Gopis, v. 876).

Selections from the Dasam Granth

The *Vichitar Natak* (Wonderful Drama) was written amid the uncertainties of war, and its opening verses reflect the guru's preoccupation with war, and set the mood for the whole:

I bow with heart and mind to the Holy Sword,
Assist me that I may complete this Book.

Praise of the Sword.

The Sword cuts sharply, destroys the host of the wicked,
And has power to make the battlefield beautiful.
It is an unbreakable shaft in the hand,
It is very sharp, and its flash pales the radiance of the sun.
The Sword brings peace to the saints,
Fear to the evil-minded, destruction to sin,
So it is my refuge.
Hail! Hail to the Creator of the world,
The Saviour of creation, my Preserver in every way,—
Hail, O Sword!
Everlasting Light, Uncreated Form,
God of great Gods, King of great Kings,
Without body, everlasting,
Without form or disposition,
All Powerful—Hail, Wearer of the Sword!

(vs. 1-3)

A Battle Scene

The descendants of the brothers Lav and Kushu fought each other for the possession of Lahore, which had been seized from the Lavites by the Kushites. Battle descriptions of this sort occur by the score in the Granth of the tenth guru. The following scene is evidently written by someone with first-hand experience of similar warfare; it is a translation of parts of the third chapter of Guru Gobind Singh's *Vichitar Natak.*

The Creator caused many kinds of quarrels and hatreds,
Which no reformer could efface.
  The great Raja Lust and his doughty warriors Greed and Infatuation—
  What hero has gone unscathed from their blows?
There the resplendent warriors give each other abuse (*gāli*),
Then archers, mail-clad warriors, peerless swordsmen
Rise and join the furious battle.
While the minions of Shiv and Baital dance and his drum beats.
  Sometimes Shivji strings heads on his necklace,
  Turn by turn ghosts wail and spectres shriek,
Chamunda (Kali) shouts, vultures croak,
Here and there the corpses of splendid heroes lie in tangled heaps.
  The slaughter is great, and the wounded roll about
  With both hands clutching their wounds.
Here lie skulls, helmets, bows and arrows,
There on the battlefield, the swords and quivers of the Kshatriyas.
  Vultures croak, foul spirits belch,
  There Kali and other dreadful spectres shriek and roar,
Here heroes and ghosts stagger about,
There carrion-eating demon spirits laugh.

They care for nothing,
But only shout "Kill, kill!"
  Bellowing, they shove about mightily,
  Even while receiving blows from many weapons.

Thousands of Huris in heaven
Choose in marriage those (who fall) in the van;
  But they sway about with terrifying mein,
  And only shout "Kill, kill!"
One has a limb cut off,
Another, his long hair pulled out by the roots,
  Another has his flesh in shreds,
  While another falls hacked to pieces.
Drums beat, shields clash,
Forward ranks fall back,
  Missiles fly thickly from the warriors,
  While hosts are trampled underfoot.
New war drums sound,
And the warriors, unflinching, roar,
  While they ply sword and bow,
  And deftly cut off limbs.
Full of anger, they advance,
And do not retreat even four feet.
  Grasping their weapons, they roar battle-cries
  That put thunderclouds to shame.
Uttering these terrifying shouts,
They brandish their swishing swords,
  And fight, forgetting all anxiety,
  While many go straight to heaven.
The enraged warriors advance
With showers of arrows.
  Conch shells send forth their roar,
  But the heroes, steadfast, cover themselves with glory.

Toleration

Even though Guru Gobind Singh had to spend most of his life in warfare, a strain of longing for peace and fellowship can be detected in his writings, such as this from the Akal Ustat which sounds like the irenic message of Guru Nanak:

The temple and the mosque are the same,
Puja and namaz are the same,
All men are one, it is through error

That they appear different....
Their eyes are the same, their ears are the same,
They are of one body, one build,
A compound of earth, air, fire, and water.
Allah and Abhekh are the same,
The Puran and the Quran are the same,
They are alike, all the creation of the One.

(vs. 16-86)

In the Jap, which contains almost a thousand Names for God, He is described in negative terms for several pages. The opening verses are typical:

Thou hast no form or feature,
No caste or lineage;
None can describe Thy appearance,
Colour, mark, or garb. (v. 1)
Who art formless, indeterminable,
Incorporeal and unborn;
Who art imperishable, indestructible,
Nameless and abodeless:
To Thee I bow again and again (v. 3, 4)

(Sirdar Brijindar Singh, *The Jap*)

In the Jap, too, there is a universalism that keeps coming to the surface, and "all" seems to be the key word as the poet breaks through to more positive description:

Thou art the source of all light,
And the object of all praise;
Thou art the supreme Lord of all,
And the moon of the universe.

(vs. 119)

. . . .

Perfect is Thy discernment,
All turn to Thee for refuge.
Thou art the great Companion,
Thou art the sure Providence.

(vs. 123)

Thou fillest and feedest the whole universe,
Thyself self-existent, auspicious and united with all.
Thou art the embodiment of mercy;
Thou art the deliverer from birth and death,
Thou art man's constant Companion.
Everlasting is Thy glory.

(vs. 199)

The theory of the guruship is given thus in the *Vichitar Natak*:

The Holy Nanak was revered as Angad,
Angad was recognized as Amar Das,
And Amar Das became Ram Das.
The pious saw this but not the fools,
Who thought them all distinct;
When Ram Das was blended with God,
He gave the Guruship to Arjan.
When Arjan was going to God's city,
He appointed Har Gobind in his place.
When Har Gobind was going to God's city,
He seated Har Rai in his place.
Har Kishan his son afterwards became Guru,
After him came Teg Bahadur....
As one lamp is lit from another.

(Macauliffe V, p. 295)

While the guru accepts Hindu theology, he has no time at all for Hindu religious practices, which he satirizes as follows:

Against Austerities

They who eat grass and renounce the desire of wealth,
Are no more than calves and oxen....
They who engage in meditation resemble cranes, cats, and wolves.
For grazing on akk, eating fruits and flowers,
And ever wandering in the forests, there is no animal like a goat.
In the cold season the jackal barketh five times,

And the elephant and the donkey utter various cries.
If any one were by repeating God's name to obtain God
Who cannot be obtained by lip-worship,
The warbler ever uttereth "Tu hi! Tu hi" *

(Macauliffe V, pp. 270-74)

* Tu—Thou, hi—only.

The Future

To counter effectively the rising tide of secularism and materialism, men of faith must get together. Sikhs and Christians should not find this difficult, for, as Dr. S. S. Kohli says, "Fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man and Divine Grace are the important common elements in Christianity and *Adi Granth.*" Both are monotheistic faiths, and emphasize the need of expressing their gratitude to Him by service to mankind. A fund of good will exists, dating back to the dark days of Partition when Christians in hospitals, schools, towns and villages extended a helping hand to their Sikh neighbours in distress. Cannot these two minority groups make a determined effort to understand each other, and then co-operate, as Dr. Archer puts it, in "a common effort for the general good. The most immediate cooperative enterprise to yield the best results would be to practise brotherhood."[44] No one knows what the future of such a venture might be; but surely that can be left in the hands of Him whose will both communities acknowledge to be the supreme guide in life.

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Appendix I

Historical Tables

TABLE I: The Gurus

Father's occup.	Name	Dates Guruship	Birthplace	Events, Writings	Built	Residence	Muslim Emperor
Farmer ..	1 NANAK (Bedi)	1469-1539	Talawandi or Nankana S	Founder World traveller. "Japji"	Kartarpur on Ravi	Talwandi Kartarpur	Babar 1483-1530
Trader ..	2 ANGAD (Lahna) (Tehun)	1539-1552 Age 34	1504 at Matte di Sarai, Muktsar	Visit of Hamayun-Gurmukhi	Goindwal on Bias	Khadur near Tarn T.	Humayun 1530-56
Trader ..	3 AMAR DAS (Bhalla)	1552-1574 Age 73	1479 Basarka near Amritsar	Langar Visit of Akbar "Anand"	Goindwal and Bawali	Goindwal	Akbar 1556-1605
Hereditary	4 RAMDAS (Jetha) (Sodhi)	1574-1581 Age 40	1534 Lahore	Appointed Masands	Tanks: Amritsar, Santokhsar	Amritsar Goindwal	
Guruship	5 ARJAN	1581-1606 Age 18	1563 Goindwal	Compiled Granth 1604 Martyred "Sukhmani"	Har Mandar Tarn Taran Kartarpur Bawali, Lhr. Gobindpur	Amritsar	Jehangir 1606-1628

Guruship Hereditary	6 HAR GOBIND	1606-1645 Age 11	1595 Wadali near Amritsar	4 Battles: Amritsar Har Gobindpur Nathana Gursar	Akal Takht Kaulsar Har Gobindpur Kiratpur by son Gurditta	Gwalior Srinagar Amritsar Har Gobindpur	
	7 HAR RAI	1645-1661 Age 14	1630 Kiratpur	Kartarpur Zoo founded Army 2200	..	Kiratpur	Shah Jahan 1628-1658 Aurangzeb 1658-1707
	8 HAR KRISHAN	1661-1664 Age 5¼	1656 Ki ratpur	D. Smallpox Delhi	..	Kiratpur	
	9 TEG BAHADUR	1664-1675 Age 42	1621 Amritsar	Travels—Patna Kamrup—Martyred	Began Anandpur	Kiratpur Anandpur	
	10 GOBIND SINGH	1675-1708 Age 9	1666 Patna	Founded Khalsa—Panch Kakke 4 sons killed With 57 Bards produced "Dasam Granth" and put Ad Granth in final form "Damdama Bir"	Anandpur Paonta	Anandpur Nander	Bahadur Shah 1707

TABLE II: Main Bhagats of the Ad Granth

Name	Caste	Dates	Birthplace	Place of Teaching	Writings	Tomb	Verses in Granth
JAIDEV	Brahman Poet	B. 1170	Kanduli Lower Bengal	Wanderer Utkal	Gitagovind in Sanskrit	Kanduli	6
NAMDEV	Tailor-Dacoit	D. 1350	Karad, Bombay Pres.	Pandharpur on Godavari All India	Namdev Gatha in Marathi and Hindi	Pandharpur	245
TRILOCHAN	Vaisya	B. 1267	Pandharpur	same			20
PARMANAND				Barsi near Pandharpur			3
SADHNA	Butcher	C. 1300	Sehwan, Sind			Sarhind Pjb.	4
BENI		Ancient		Unknown			19
RAMANAND	Gaur Brahman	C. 1400-1450	Prayag or Mailkot, Mysore	Banares		Banares	3
DHANNA	Jat Farmer	1415	Dhuan, Tank Rajputana	same		Banares	6
PIPA	King	1425	Gagaraun-garh	Dwaraka W. Kathiar			2

SAIN	Barber	C. 1400	Rewa near Jabalpur (old Bandh-avgarh)	Rewa			4
KABIR	Weaver	1398-1517	Banares	same	Kabir Bijak in Hindi	Magghar near Gorakhpur	1122
RAVI DAS	Chamar	C. 1400		Banares	Banian		141
MIRA BAI	Princess	1504	Rajputana	Chitor-Mewar	in Hindi	Dwaraka	
SHEIKH FARD	Afghan Mhdn.	D. 1552	Kothiwal near Dipalpur	Pakpattan		Pakpattan Pjb.	116
(SHEIKH BRAHM)	..	D. 1265					
BHIKHAN	Sufi Mhdn.	D. 1573	Near Lucknow				5
SUR DAS	Brahman	B. 1528		Sandila Oudh		Banares	2

TABLE THREE: The Genealogy of the Gurus

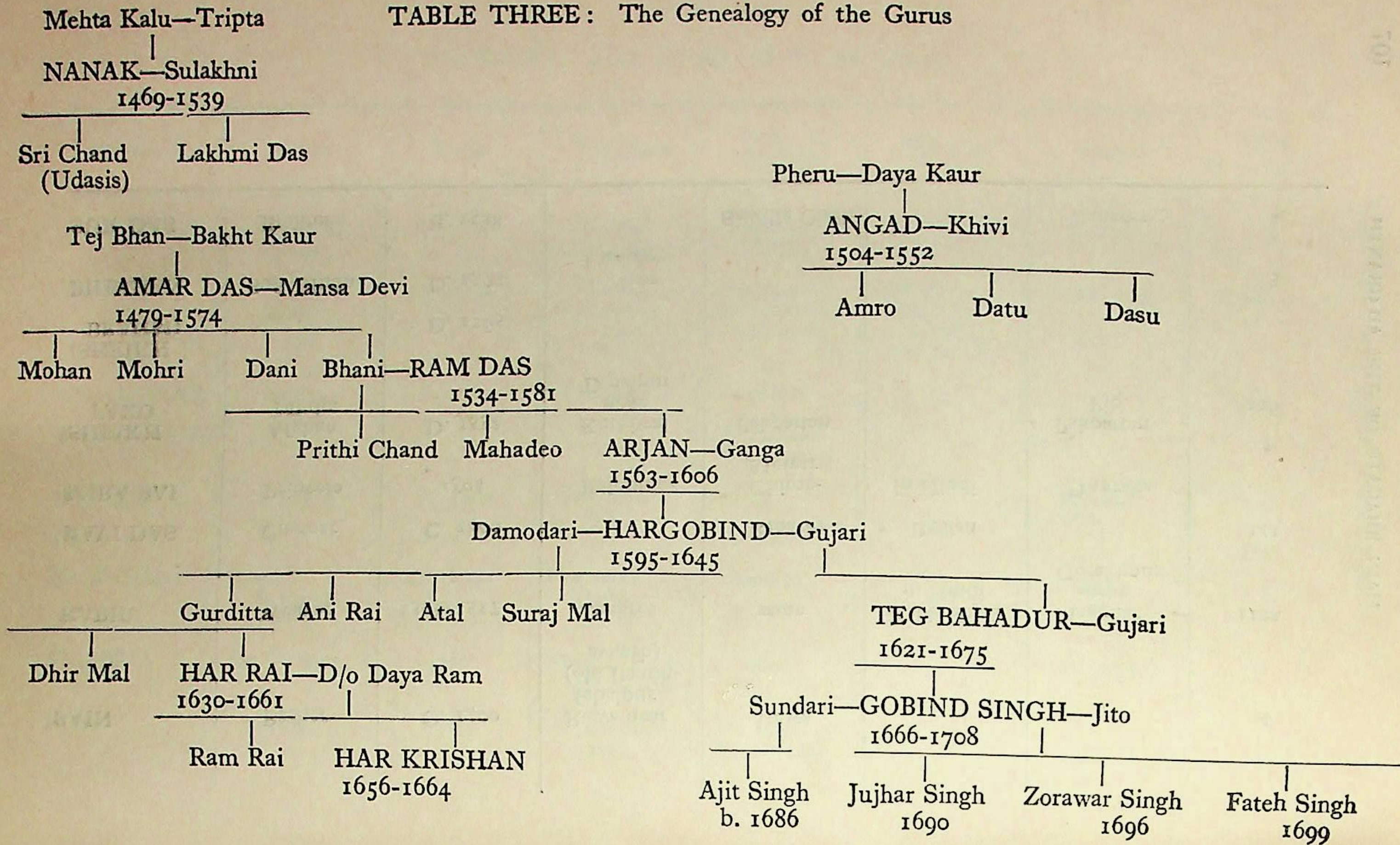


TABLE IV: Some Similarities and Differences

("X" indicates that it is found in the Tenth Granth)

SIMILAR TO HINDUISM:

- Hindu pantheon
- Hindu mythology
- Karma
- Transmigration
- Repetition of the Name
- Necessity of the guru
- Bhakti—salvation by grace for all
- Maya: world God's "play"
- Salvation by death in battle (X, from Bhagavad Gita)

DIFFERS FROM HINDUISM—REJECTS:

- Vedas and Hindu scriptures
- Priesthood of the Brahmans
- Caste
- Idolatry
- Pilgrimages
- Asceticism
- Ahimsa: vegetarianism
- Animal sacrifice
- Prohibition of widow remarriage

SIMILAR TO ISLAM:

- One Absolute God
- Theocracy
- Repetition of God's Names
- Fatalism
- Hatred of idolatry
- A central shrine
- Stated daily prayers
- Huris and a carnal paradise (X)
- Holy war (X)
- Brotherhood of believers.

DIFFERS FROM ISLAM—REJECTS:

Mohammad as the final prophet
Quran as the final revelation
Fasting
Animal sacrifice
Exclusion of women from public worship
Circumcision

SIMILAR TO CHRISTIANITY:

One God
Divine Spirit
Salvation by grace
Reality of sin and need of forgiveness
Sacrifice in service
Baptism and the Communion meal
Congregational hymn singing and worship by all—men, women, children
Brotherhood of all mankind
Tithes
Organization into congregations or parishes
Lay leaders

DIFFERS FROM CHRISTIANITY:

Ten gurus, not one supreme guru
Physical symbols—*kes*, *kara*, etc.
Set prayers, same for every day
No special recurring day of worship, like Sunday
Infants not baptized
Ad Granth a book of songs, no historical narrative or didactical portions as in the Bible
Transmigration, not resurrection

SIMILAR TO BUDDHISM:

Congregational worship
Nirvana
Against caste
Against animal sacrifice
The Bodhisattva, the Emancipated One who stays on in the world for service (X)

DIFFERS FROM BUDDHISM:

No worship of relics (bones, etc. of saints)
No monasteries

UNIQUE IN SIKHISM:

Possession of the original manuscript of scripture (Kartarpur Granth)
The Ad Granth as guru of the Panth
The langar, or free refectory for teaching equality
A succession of ten gurus embodying one Spirit
The five symbols
Granth in a special script, Gurmukhi

TABLE V: Glossary of Punjabi Words

PRONUNCIATION:

Short vowels: a (sofa), i (sit), u (put), ai is our a in hat.
Long vowels: ā (arm), e (they), ī (eel), o (go), ū (food).
Cerebal consonants: ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṛ, ṭ, ṭh.
The others much as in English.

GLOSSARY:

Ād (Ādi)—original.
akāl—immortal, timeless.
Akālī—a political party of the Singhs.
Alwar—South India bhakta singer.
amrit—nectar, esp. the sweetened water used in Singh baptism.
anand—joy; Anand, Sikh marriage ceremony.
Ardas—prayer petition.
ārtī—Hindu waving of lights before an idol.
Asaṛh (Haṛh)—mid June to mid July.
autār—incarnation.
Bairāgī—an order of advanced ascetics.
bāṇī—word, scripture.
Bār—jungle, esp. that in southwest Punjab.
bhakta—a devotee, holy man; bhagat, the same.
bhaktī—devotion.
Brahman—the priestly caste or a member of it.
Brahma—the Absolute.
bunga—dwelling, esp. a hospice near a gurdwara.
dasam—tenth.
dasaundh—tithe.
deg—a large cooking pot.
dervish—member of a Muslim ascetic order.
dharm—caste duty, religious duty, religion.
dhobī—a washerman.
faqīr—a Muslim ascetic.
Gāyatrī—famous Hindu invocation to the sun.

giān—wisdom.

giāṇī—an expounder of the Granth.

gīta—a song.

granth—a book; Granth—the Sikh Scripture.

granthi—a reader of the Granth (he may not be able to interpret it).

gurdwāra—"guru's door," a Sikh temple.

gurmatta—"the guru's counsel," a decision of the Panth taken in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib.

Gurmukhi—"from the guru's mouth," the script used in Sikh writings.

gurū—"weighty," a religious teacher.

Hari—a name for God.

hukam—order, will.

Jaṭ—a farmer; an agricultural class, formerly Kshatriyas, now Vaishyas.

jāt—caste.

kachh—short underdrawers, one of the five symbols.

khanḍa—a two-edged sword or dagger.

kangha—comb, one of the five symbols.

kaṛa—steel bracelet, one of the five symbols.

karma—a mechanical system of retribution for all deeds.

kes—uncut hair of the head, usually done up in a top-knot, one of the five symbols.

Keshadhari—"hair-wearers" or Singhs.

Khālsa—Persian meaning "pure" or "very own;" the militant brotherhood founded by Guru Gobind Singh.

Khatri—formerly Kshatriyas, now a trading caste.

kirpān—dagger or sword, one of the five symbols.

Kshatriya—Second, or warrior and royal caste.

langar—free kitchen and refectory attached to important gurdwaras.

mahalla—a section of a poem in the Granth.

mahla—a woman.

mahant—"great," a Hindu holy man.

mantra—a verse of scripture.

mārg—a path.

masand—a missionary collector of religious offerings from Sikhs.
mela—a religious or other fair.
minaret—a tower, usually on a mosque.
misal—confederacy, or clan united around a leader.
nām—name; Nām—God's Name.
namāz—Muslim form of worship.
nāṭak—drama.
Nihang—militant Singhs, clad in blue with high yellow turbans holding steel discs, they carry swords, daggers, spears, and shields.
Onkār—the primal Being.
pāhul—Singh baptismal water; baptism.
panth—sect; Panth—the Khalsa.
pāp—sin.
Parsād—grace; mahāparshād—meat.
Pātshāh—king.
Poh—mid Dec. to mid. Jan.
pūja—Hindu worship.
rāg, rāga—a tune.
Rājput—"king's son," a branch of the Kshatriyas.
rishī—an emancipated, holy man (rikhi).
sādhū—A Hindu ascetic.
sāhib—"possessor," a title of respect, as "Granth Sahib."
Sahijdhari—"slow adopters," easy-goers, Sikhs who do not wear the five symbols.
sawaiya—a form of verse in Sikh poetry.
Sikh—a learner.
Singh—a lion.
sloka—a verse of poetry.
Sūdra—a labourer, the lowest of the four castes.
Sūfī—Muslim ascetics and mystics.
Sukhmanī—"peace of mind," a long hymn by Guru Arjan on that subject.
teg—sword; deg-teg—hospitality and war.
ustat—praise.
vāh—wonderful.
Vaishnāva—a follower of Vishnu.

varna—colour-classes which became the four main castes.

Vedant—end or purpose of the Vedas; salvation by intuitive knowledge of identity of the self with the Absolute.

vichitar—wonderful.

Yoga—"yoke," a discipline for attaining spiritual oneness with the Absolute.

zemindāri—absentee landlord system.

APPENDIX 11

The Sikhs in California

Among the first questions that come to mind are probably, "Where are the Sikhs to be found in California? Why did they concentrate in California? How many are there? Why



did they come?" In this brief article an attempt will be made to shed some light on these questions.

In as much as Sikhs naturally tend to associate with fellow Sikhs, the answer as to where they are is fairly clear. In

California they are to be found in three fairly well-defined areas. First, there is the San Joaquin Valley in central California where they are found within a strip from Sacramento southwards beyond Fresno, approximately 160 miles long by 40 wide. In the centre of this strip their first gurdwara was built in 1915 by the Khalsa Diwan Society of the United States, at Stockton. The second area is in the extreme south, from El Centro on the Mexican border north to the Salton Sea in an area 50 miles long by 40 wide. Here a gurdwara was built in 1948 by remodelling a Buddhist temple. The third area is the Sacramento Valley in northern California. It is about 100 miles long and 40 wide, with the heaviest concentration of Sikhs in California in the Yuba-Sutter county area. Here a gurdwara is being constructed near Yuba City, at Tierra Buena. The ground-breaking ceremony was held on November 29, 1969, thus celebrating Guru Nanak's 500th Birth Anniversary. Among the distinguished guests present was the famous historian, Dr. Ganda Singh himself.

A fluctuating number of Sikh students, and some business and professional people are to be found in and around San Francisco and Los Angeles. In each of these cities gurdwaras are being built.

The total number of Sikhs in California in 1969 is given as variously from 7,000 to 10,000. It is difficult to get accurate figures, since the U.S. census does not now give religion or race. Expert opinion gives 7,000 as about right.[1] Of these, perhaps 2,500 are in the Sacramento Valley, including San Francisco; 3,000 in the San Joaquin Valley, including Los Angeles; 1000 in the Imperial Valley; and 500 scattered in other localities of California. It is interesting to note their preference for the flat river valleys. These would most resemble their Punjab homeland both in topography and climate. Here the Sikhs are farmers of diversified crops, but specializing in orchards of peaches, plums, grapes, walnuts and almonds in the north. The Yuba-Sutter area has the reputation of growing more peaches than any other compar-

[1] Lawrence A. Wenzel, *The Rural Punjabis of California*, in *Phylon*, Atlanta University, 1968.

able area in the world. Around Yuba City—Marysville—rice is extensively cultivated, probably for the Chinese-Japanese market in the California cities.

Mention should be made of the Sikhs in Canada because of their connection with California immigration. They numbered 2,000 in 1944, and are settled mostly in British Columbia in south-western Canada, where they are mainly in the lumbering business. They have seven gurdwaras in that area. This would seem to indicate a considerable increase in population over 1944.[2]

Why did they come, and when? Here again definite information is scanty. Khushwant Singh says that Sikh immigration to the U.S.A. was a "spill-over" from Canada about the turn of the century. From 1904-1906, 600 came.[3] The 1907 riots against them in Bellingham, Washington, just near the Canadian border, when 600 American lumber mill workers raided 400 "Hindus" (as any peopple from Hindustan were called) and drove them from the city, would seem to show this southward migration from Canada. The Sikhs had gone from one lumbering area to another. The labour riots, albeit on a much smaller scale, at Live Oak, California, on January 25, 1908, and St. John, Oregon, on March 21, 1910, would seem to indicate their continued southward migration. A U.S. Government publication rather irresponsibly states, "In fact, it would appear that the presence in California of the Hindu is largely traceable to one large boatload from British Columbia, out of which country they were forcibly driven."[4] At any rate, by 1910 there were 6,000 East Indians (so called to distinguish them from American Indians) in California, mostly Sikhs.

Severe economic conditions, due to drought and crop failures in the Punjab are also mentioned as causes for emigration. Jacoby mentions contacts with westerners while in the British army and police. Some came via Canada or the

[2] Marian W. Smith, *Sikh Settlers in Canada, in Asia and the Americas*, August 1944, pp. 359-364.

[3] Khushwant Singh, *A history of the Sikhs*, vol. 2, 1839-1964, Princeton University Press, 1966, p. 178.

[4] *California and the Oriental*, State Board of Control of California. California State Printing Office, Sacramento, 1920.

Philippines, many direct, or from Mexico. Jacoby divides Sikh immigration into California into three periods: (1) 1904-1914, the beginning of World War I, when the "old timers" came as farm labourers. In 1914 the Commissioner General of U.S. Immigration said there were 20,000 to 30,000 East Indians here, mostly illegally, whereas Jacoby puts the total number at 7,000. (2) In the period 1918 to 1930 "students" and illegals came. Many came under student quotas, but stayed on inconspicuously to avoid detection, and later furnished an educated leadership for the Sikh community. During the period 1920 to 1930, it is estimated that at least 3,000 Hindus and Sikhs entered illegally, mostly via Mexico. (3) With the passing of the Luce-Cellar Bill by the U.S. Congress in 1946 the Sikhs could obtain American citizenship, bring over their families, and own land. The quota was 100 for India, but as families and relatives were allowed beyond this quota, and the law was interpreted liberally, many more than that entered legally.[5]

The road to full citizenship had been rough. At first, many Hindustanis had been admitted as "Caucasians" and so could become citizens. However, in February 1917 the "Barred Zone Act" was applied to India, along with Siam, Indo-China, Siberia, Afghanistan, Arabia, the Malay Islands. This Act was reinforced by a Supreme Court decision which stated that "a Hindu is not a free white person" hence was ineligible for U. S. citizenship. Not only was further naturalization barred for them, but citizenships granted in the fifteen years after 1908 were revoked.[6] It seems likely that after the huge influx of Chinese and Japanese immigrants during the railroad building era of the late nineteenth century, with the problems arising therefrom, the few hundreds of Sikhs became the targets of this racial ill will. The Sikhs were conspicuous with their turbans and beards. They were lampooned in the American press as "the Turbaned Tide" and "the Rag Heads."[7]

[5] Harold S. Jacoby, *A Half Century Appraisal of East Indians in the U.S.*, College of the Pacific Faculty Research Lecture, May 23, 1956.

[6] Wenzel, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

[7] cf. Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 168. Also cf. Irving Stone, *Men to Match My Mountains*, Doubleday, New York, 1956, p. 380.

Another drastic restriction was the application of the 1924 Immigration Act which based quotas on the foreign-born population of 1890, when East Indian immigration had not started.[8] This stopped legal, but fostered illegal entry. The sense of frustration and confusion arising from these immigration and naturalization laws, together with the absence of women among the hundreds of Sikh men is reflected in the number of crimes of violence, usually committed against each other, and the high incidence of sex crimes attributed to the early Sikh settlers.

However, after the passing of the Luce-Cellar Bill in 1946 the lot of the Sikh farmers in the three California valleys is, on the whole, a happy and prosperous one. There seems now to be a movement to bring over Punjabi wives and families, with the evident intent of making California their home.

Vicissitudes of Settlement

Government reports were most unfavourable to the early Sikh immigrants. In one we read:

> The Hindu, in the opinion of the Commissioner of the State Bureau of Labour Statistics, is the most undesirable immigrant in the State. His lack of personal cleanliness, his low morals and his blind adherence to theories and teachings so entirely repugnant to American principles make him unfit for association with American people.

These references apply to the low-caste Hindus or Sikhs.[9] Evidently these immigrants were not welcomed by officialdom. Small wonder that ties with the homeland remained strong and that they left in waves at times of crisis in India. In 1914 at the time of the unhappy *Komagatu Maru* incident in Vancouver harbour and the formation of the Ghadr Party to foment revolution against the British Raj in India hundreds of Sikhs left California to volunteer for action in India. At the time of the Gurdwara Control agitation in 1920 many

[8] Wenzel. *op. cit.*, p. 250.

[9] State Board of Control of California, *California and the Oriental*, California State Printing Office, Sacramento, 1920, p. 102.

more left for the Punjab. Many more left on the Declaration of Independence for India.

This may be as good a place as any to mention briefly the Ghadr Party and other revolutionary activities against the British in which California Sikhs were involved. In 1913 the Ghadr Party was organized as a development of "The Hindustan Workers of the Pacific Coast." A weekly paper called *The Ghadr* was published in Urdu and especially in Gurmukhi, as well as other Indian languages. This was issued from the Party premises in San Francisco, and soon circulated widely among Indian communities in the East. The first issue stated the Party's objective as:

> Today there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language a war against the British Raj. . . . What is our name? Ghadr. What is our work? Ghadr. Where will Ghadr break out? In India. The time will soon come when rifles and blood will take the place of pen and ink.
>
> *Ghadr*, November 1, 1913.[10]

One might surmise that, while American officialdom could not sanction bloody revolution against a friendly power, there was much sympathy with the demand for Indian Independence. At any rate, the Ghadr Party remained unmolested at the headquarters in San Francisco for many years.

Soon after this, on May 23, 1914, the *Komagatu Maru* arrived in Vancouver harbour with 376 Indians, mostly Sikhs, aboard. The passengers were from India, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Kobe, and Yokahama, so, since the passengers had not all come "directly from India" most were refused permission to land. After two hot, crowded months in the harbour, the ship was escorted out of the harbour by a naval vessel and forced to go back. This, and the violent treatment of most of the passengers when they landed in Calcutta, only served to inflame the Ghadrites the more. The German alliance they sought brought the United States Government against them when the United States entered the War on April 6, 1917, and seventeen Ghadr leaders, along with eighteen Germans

[10] Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

were arrested. The Ghadrites in India, however, continued to receive funds from Sikhs in California. In 1924 they turned to the communists, and even sent a batch of Ghadrites to Russia for training.

Attempts were made to smuggle arms from the United States to India, to be used against the British Indian Government, a friendly power. The 5,000 revolvers smuggled on the *Henry S.* were lost when the ship was captured by the British navy. In March 1915 the *Annie Larson* "loaded with war material" from the United States was captured by the U.S. Navy and inpounded for carrying contraband.[11] All this obviously did not enhance the reputation of the California Sikhs in the eyes of U.S. Government officials. Finally, "communist infiltration split the Ghadr Party. The majority of the Ghadrites in the United States and Canada either turned anti-communist or were submerged by the wave of anti-communism which spread over the western world. . . . In 1948 the assets of the party were turned over to the Indian ambassador in the United States, thus bringing to an end its 30-year old turbulent career."[12]

In spite of all this dealing with the German militarists, then with the Russian communists, and in spite of many unfavourable official reports against the first Punjabi settlers, the Sikhs are now a highly respected community in California. To find the reason for this change, we now turn to consider some of the economic and social aspects of their history in California.

Assimilation into American Life

The Sikhs have long been noted for their power to adapt themselves to circumstances they cannot control. Their practical optimism and freedom from apathy has led them to accept whatever befalls in the providence of God and try to turn it to their own advantage.

An Indian historian remarks with admiration on "the elasticity of character, the power to adapt themselves" of

[11] Khushwant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
[12] *idem*, p. 192.

the Sikhs. Their vigour of body and mind enabled them to withstand the changes of a rigorous climate, so that "the burning sun, heavy rains, freezing winter and rough weather exercised no deterring influence on them." Even persecution, the destruction of their homes and sacred buildings, and the enslavement of their women and children did not succeed in crushing their spirit.[13]

In Canada, too, the Sikhs showed this ability. They not only adapted themselves to a new climate and a new civilization, but to new occupations as well. Coming from the farms of the Punjab, they got construction jobs on the Canadian railways. Later they turned to the lumber industry, so that one authority says, "These farmers from the Punjab have not only adapted themselves to work in the moist forests of western Canada, but they have mastered the mechanized skills of the more intricate mill work." Two of the largest lumber mills are now owned and operated by Sikhs: the Kapoor Mill near Vancouver, owned by Kapur Singh; and the Mayo Mill on Vancouver Island near Duncan, owned by Mayo Singh.[14]

Even in 1920, before the Sikhs could buy land in California, the Chief Sanitary Engineer of the State Commission of Immigration and Housing has this to say:

> Our experience in labour camp inspection shows that Hindus are rapidly leaving the employed list and are becoming employers. Particularly is this true in the rice-growing section of California, in Yolo, Colusa, Glenn, Butte, Sutter and Yuba counties, also in the cotton district of Imperial County. . . . In Fresno, Kings, Madera and Tulare counties we find Hindus employed in some orchards and vineyards; also in the sugar beet section in Yolo County and the Salinas Valley. The number is rapidly growing less, for the change from employed to employer or lessee is rapidly placing the Hindu in the position of "little landlord." The Hindu will not farm poor land. He wants the best and will pay for it. Consequently the American

[13] Loehlin, *The Sikhs and Their Scriptures*, p. 22; quotes H. N. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 175.
[14] Marian Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-364.

owner who can get a big rental for his land desires the Hindu. He will pay.[15]
(*Note:* "Hindu" bears the usual American geographical interpretation—anyone from Hindustan is a Hindu. Here it obviously means "Sikh".)

Their success as orchard agriculturists is seen in the peach farming in Sutter County. While, in 1966, they owned 20% of the farms they produced 35% of the peach tonnage. Peach cultivation is an intricate process involving spraying for insect control, fertilization, cultivation for weed control, irrigation, thinning, pruning, cover crop planting, and harvesting. Several own and operate the most modern machines for shaking the trees and catching the peaches or plums on canvas aprons, then by conveyor belt to huge bins for transportation by tractor to the sorting stations of the big canning companies. Most now live in modest houses with plumbing, electricity, gas for cooking and heating. This is far different from the living conditions of the early settlers, who often slept on the ground around open fires, or in barns on the hay; their cooking was over camp-fires, their food the simplest. They worked ten or twelve hours a day for a dollar and a half, and yet they managed to save. Their adaptability, their determination to save part of their income, however meagre, along with hard work and the "Khalsa spirit" of helping each other out with the lending of tools and equipment, has all contributed to the prosperity of the Sikh farming community.[16]

The Sikhs are traditionally a devout people. Their religion encourages worldly success and social responsibility, obviously values that have helped their progress. Sikhism centres around *Nām* (worship) and *Seva* (service). The people of Stockton noticed this spirit of service:

> Although the Sikh Temple was built in the modern period, it is a pioneer church of unusual interest and should be included in this History. The Sikh Temple,

[15] Edward A. Brown, *Hindu Housing* in *California and the Oriental*, Stockton, 1920.

[16] Lawrence A. Wenzel. *The Identification and Analysis of Certain Value Orientations of Two Generations of East Indians in California*, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of the Pacific, Stockton 1966.

located at 1930 North Grant Street, was dedicated on November 21, 1915. . . . A priest was in charge of the Temple to attend to the wants of the members at any time of day or night. Charity was practised by the members and no man applying for shelter or food was ever turned away, regardless of who he was. The hobos passing by on the Southern Pacific tracks, just in rear of the Temple, would always be fed from a kitchen dining room, and a dormitory located on the ground floor would provide sleeping quarters.[17]

With regard to assimilation, a sociologist who has made a thorough study of the Sikhs in California, sums up his findings as follows:

> At this half-century in the life of the East Indians in the United States it is apparent that acculturation is definitely taking place, but it cannot be said that assimilation has as yet been accomplished. In terms of several aspects of their way of life, they are still identifiable as being from India. In terms of the social organizational structure of American society, the East Indians are even less an integral part of American life. And finally, in terms of their biological merging into the stream of American life, this process is even less likely for the immediate future than it appeared to be a decade or so ago. . . . There is in this paper no basis for leaping to the conclusion that the East Indians are unassimilable because assimilation has not yet taken place; and even if we were to establish a scale of "assimilability" the East Indian would undoubtedly stand very high on any list of the peoples of the world. . . . Nor is there any justification for insisting that some greater measure of assimilation, integration, or amalgamation ought immediately to be pressed. There is no evidence that these people are the less emotionally linked to America by reason of their tendency to enjoy curry, speak Punjabi with their friend or worship at the temples of their fathers. Nor is there any certainty that their loyalty to America would be enhanced by forcing them to join western clubs

17 *Stockton Album through the Years*, Stockton, California, 1959.

and lodges, or marry only with persons of non-Indian background. Loyalty is an inward thing, demonstrated not by the clothes people wear, the language dialects they may use—or even the oaths they are compelled to sign—but by the whole bent of their personality and character. In this regard, there is little today to indicate that the East Indians are less entitled to the name "American" than are any of the rest of us.[18]

Outlook for the Future

On the basis of their adaptability and enterprise in solving the problems of settling in new environments in the past, there seems no reason to believe that they will not continue to do so as they face the problems and opportunities of a new day. The common rumour is that Sikh farmers are saving money to buy more good land, and often go into partnership with each other to do this.

The Sikhs have been saving money also to bring over their families, or perhaps brides, from the Punjab. Since the Immigration Laws were liberalized in 1965, other relatives, parents, brothers, sisters, have been brought to California. The impact of this new immigration is highlighted in a meeting called by Mr. Kaperos, Education Director of Special Services, and attended by the Elementary School Coordinator, three principals, one vice-principal, four teachers (two of them Punjabis), the Director of the Hindustani Radio Programme, and two retired missionaries from the Punjab:

> Mr. Karperos explained that the reason for calling the meeting was the concern for youngsters of East Indian descent in our schools with limited backgrounds in the English language and a limited knowledge of the American culture. Though there is a concentration of these students at Barry, Tierra Buena, Gray Ave., and Yuba City High School, every school in the district has some children who fit this description. There are approximately 150-200 East Indian youngsters in this district. These children range in

[18] Harold S. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33.

culture from those who are completely westernized to those who are new immigrants. The problem of socialization is felt more in grades 7-12 than at the younger level.

Under Educational Resources Agencies, Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, it may be possible to receive Federal monies to develop a programme to help these children.[19]

A problem that will be increasingly urgent is likely to centre around the attitudes and occupations of the coming generation. In addition to new arrivals, many children of Sikh families will be born and brought up in California. They will have little difficulty in adopting American ways and values. Can they also be taught to preserve the ideals of their parents in the hectic swirl of American life? Family solidarity, family worship, simple living, thrifty saving, and hard, honest labour need emphasis today in American civilization. An Indian sociologist, speaking of conditions in the Imperial Valley, is sceptical:

> Most of the Sikhs are farmers and reasonably well-off. They have built a reputation in the area as hard-working and diligent. They, however, tend to isolate themselves from the community and tend to mix among themselves. Most of them were married to Mexican women and their children are drifting away from the Sikh religion. There are two *Gurdwaras* in California: one in Stockton, another in El Centro. Sunday services are regularly held in those *Gurdwaras*. They also celebrate such Sikh festivals as *Baisakhi Purnima* or the birthday of *Guru Nanak*. The children of the Sikhs are noticeably apathetic to the Sikh church and in El Centro at least, they refrain from visiting the *Gurdwara* except on festive occasions when free langars are available consisting of typical Sikh food such as *roti*, fried *masur dal*, *sabji*, *chutney* and *boondi raita*.[20]

Dr. Gulzar Singh Johl, however, is optimistic. In an interview with a newspaper reporter, he is quoted as saying:

[19] Yuba City Unified School District, *Meeting Regarding East-Indian Project*, December 18, 1969.
[20] Robi Chakravorti, in a letter to the Consul General of India, San Francisco, February 17, 1969.

I said it was either medicine or farming or both. It's hard to explain why. Farming's just in my views. It's become a way of life. Most people aim to own their own land. Most of them are saving their money for a down payment or something. And all our people want to stay in farming. The kids sometimes think about getting this or that kind of a job but they stay in farming. They have something to start with.

Anyone can appreciate just being here in this country. Where else could you buy (thousands of dollars) worth of land without paying a penny out of your pocket? You pay it, of course, you pay a lot more, but you can work the land like it was your own even if it isn't your own, and hope someday it will be your own. This is the only place. If you don't want to talk to somebody, you don't have to. If you need help, there's always help available. If we need advice in our orchards, George Post is there. You can't even buy help in other places. Here it is supplied to us just for the asking. But the main thing is opportunity. If a person wants to advance himself, he can. And if he doesn't, it's his own fault.[21]

Acculturalization to American ways of life will doubtless go on; and for preserving the culture of Sikhism gurdwaras are being established, and libraries of Sikh literature are being developed. The gurdwaras will be centres of worship primarily, but also social and political centres. As more Sikhs become U.S. citizens and voters, no doubt their interest in American politics will increasingly find an outlet. A few years ago Dalip Singh Saundh, of the Imperial Valley, was elected to the U.S. Congress. The Sikhs have seen the value of political influence in the passing of the Luce-Cellar Bill. The old Khalsa ideal of a democratic theocracy can be transformed into American citizenship activity on the part of a small but able minority. America is still a land of opportunity. Perhaps some day we may even have a Sikh as Governor of California!

[21] Sacramento Bee, *Indian Sikhs Contribute to the Economy of Sutter County*, issue of November 5, 1965. Also checked with Dr. Gulzar Singh—CHL.

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